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THE REPORTER

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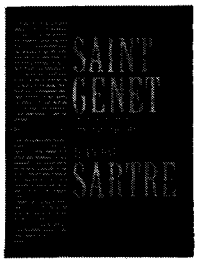

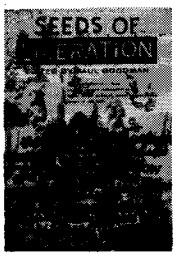

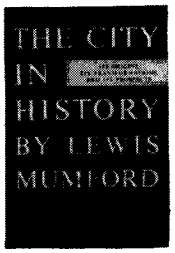

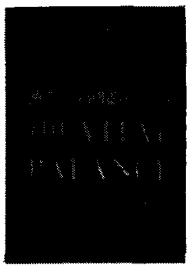

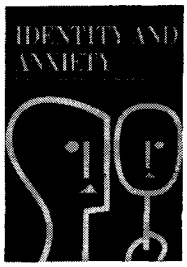

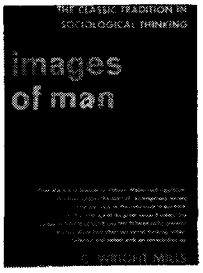

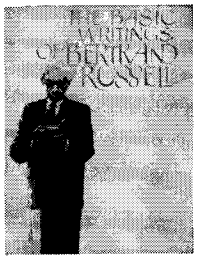

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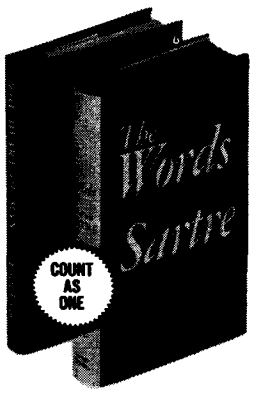

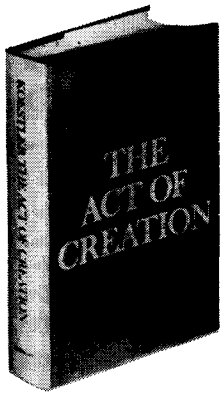

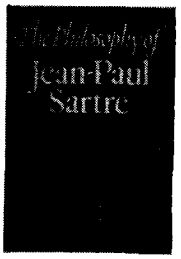

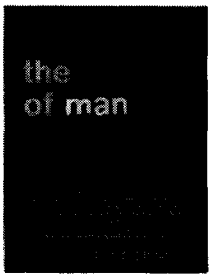

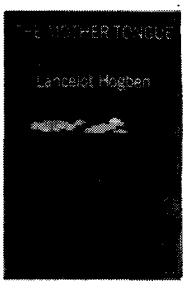

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The Time of the Peacock

Like Moliere's "Would-Be Gentleman," who was astonished to learn that he'd been speaking prose all his life, there may be a few people around who are unaware that this was a universe of color long before the NBC peacock came along.

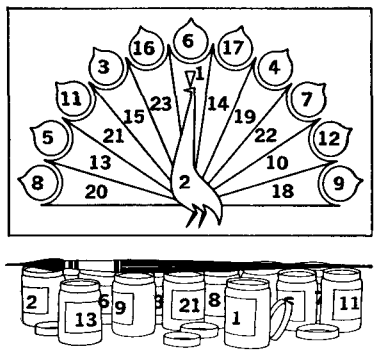
Indeed, the mere idea of a world *without* color is terrible to contemplate. Daffodils, billiard balls and barber poles would be completely stripped of personality. Judy Garland's most famous song might well be "Somewhere Over the Liddenfogen." And Betsy Ross would never have made the scene at all.

A Bright New Era

No, NBC isn't old enough to have invented color, but we can take credit for just about all the network color programming being watched by viewers today. And next season, our contribution in this field will be even more pronounced, for virtually *all* our nighttime programming—and 70 per cent of our daytime schedule—will be in color.

When a network announces that 28 of its 30 nighttime shows will be broadcast in color, you just know that the medium is entering upon a bright new era. It's an era whose inevitability NBC foresaw quite a while ago. We did more than foresee it; we did all we could to hasten its arrival. Today, the one-time scoffers from the other networks (it was plainly a case of the color-blind leading the color-blind) give every indication of wanting to board the bandwagon. Yet, in 1953—when NBC first started to broadcast in color—these same doubters were delighted to sit back and let George do it. (George happened to be the name of our first color cameraman.)

NBC's trail-blazing in color was fairly typical of the



same pioneering zest that has marked its efforts in network radio and black-and-white television. But the tremendous broadcasting advantages of color—to audiences, affiliated stations and advertisers—have always been apparent to us. That's why we were perfectly willing to go it alone among the networks in a struggle that—for a long stretch of the way—was costly, difficult and unavailing.

But now that color has come into its own, it is NBC which is best prepared to serve it up. The knowledge and experience we've gained over the past dozen years of color-casting are not trifles that can be picked up from a speeding bandwagon.

By this time, there are precious few scoffers around. The added appeal that color gives even the most attractive black-and-white program is a fact of broadcasting life. We know, for example, that when an NBC-TV show is presented in color, 80 per cent more homes with color receivers tune in than homes with black-and-white sets.

What's more, the advantages in color broadcasting will become more and more significant with each passing month. (At the end of 1965, it's estimated, there'll be some 5,000,000 color sets in use; and some 8,000,000 by the end of 1966).

Color It Wonderful

Our Fall nighttime schedule—with 15 bright new offerings joining 15 established favorites—would be a highly exciting prospect even if all the programs were being presented in black and white. But the thought that all but two of these shows will be telecast in their true, nature-given hues makes us proud enough to blush. In NBC color, of course.

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CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND NEGRO EMANCIPATION

by

Ralph Moellering

● "The contemporary racial crisis is brought into historical relationship with the slavery crisis of one hundred years ago. This is scientifically sound. There is a genuine cultural and ideological connection between slavery and desegregation, and the manuscript is an extended account of the record of the churches in the field of race relations. The record of the churches is related to their growing new sense of responsibility, and to concrete proposals as to how their responsibility may be met.

"For many Christians the book will provide new insights into the meaning of the gospel for race relations." **George D. Kelsey, Drew University.**

In the midst of the current social revolution, many thoughtful Christians are uncertain of themselves. What position —and action—should they take in race relations? Whom should they believe? What does the church say? This book deals with a commodity desperately needed at this time: facts as opposed to myths. The author challenges the myth that the white southerner is to blame for the entire racial problem in this country, and explores and exposes the northerner's involvement in the racial complications of our day. Urbanites and suburbanites are being drawn into the problem through the integration of neighborhoods, churches and places of business. In the light of these developments it is necessary to recognize that the present Negro drive for equality is not an "invasion" of the white man's rights.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

ARTICLE 19 of the United Nations Charter could not be any clearer: it deprives the vote in the General Assembly of any nation whose arrears equal the contribution due from it for the preceding two years. The only exception that has been made is for nations that subject themselves to a means test. But a number of things have happened between San Francisco and our times: the attempt on the part of the United States to increase the power of the Assembly at the time of the Korean War, when the majority of the Assembly followed the West; then the increase in the Assembly membership from fifty-one at San Francisco to 114, and still expanding; and then again —not to close the list, but to bring out the most striking and unexpected facts—the growing realization on the part of our government that the power in the Assembly was shifting from the West to the East, thanks to the never-ending meddling of the nations still called, of all things, "neutral" or "uncommitted." The Nineteenth Assembly, as if there were a destiny in numbers, was entirely paralyzed by the non-vote on Article 19. This complex story is told by **Meg Greenfield,** who wanted to investigate how the Washington policy works on the East River.

LOBBIES have long fascinated us because of what they reveal about the workings of our legislative and executive branches. The problem of persuading Congress to pass—or not to pass—legislation affecting special interests has occupied the energies of some very capable men. Rarely, however, have we encountered more zeal than that displayed on behalf of a Miami promotion called Interama. **Richard Harwood,** who tracked the intricate Interama story from Miami right up to the executive branch of the government, is on the Washington staff of the Louisville *Times* and the *Courier-Journal.* He is currently on leave as the first Carnegie fellow in journalism at Columbia University. . . . Ever since the liberation, the French economy has been guided by a series of four-year programs known as *"le Plan."* A peculiarly French mixture of *dirigisme* and free enterprise, the plan, now preparing for its fifth installment, **Edmond Taylor** reports, has divided the financial advisers to President de Gaulle. . . . **Russell Warren Howe,** who for several years covered Africa for the Washington *Post,* has recently returned to his native England to discover that the British government is taking somewhat an ostrich approach to the increasingly serious problem of race prejudice there. . . . A different kind of prejudice has divided India into violently hostile factions: the Hindi-speaking population and the millions in other linguistic groups who oppose the establishment of Hindi as the country's official language. **Sundar Rajan,** assistant editor of the *Times of India* in Bombay, warns that this may be the greatest single threat to Indian unity in the post-Nehru era. . . . Our Chilean commentator, **Fernando Krahn,** is out to launch.

IN his opening paragraph, **Frederic V. Grunfeld** makes a point about Ravel's music that could well be applied to all great music of the past: we should try to hear it as if it had never been piped into elevators, for there is the innocent ear as well as the innocent eye. Discipline can provide both. Mr. Grunfeld, formerly on the staff of station WQXR in New York, contributes regularly from Mallorca. . . . Jean Giraudoux, the French novelist and playwright, is appraised by **Gerald Weales** in terms of what he really was, a poet. Mr. Weales, who teaches drama at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of *Religion in Modern English Drama* (Pennsylvania), *American Drama Since World War II* (Harcourt, Brace), and *A Play and Its Parts* (Basic Books). . . . **Nelson W. Polsby** teaches political science at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut; he has written *Congress and the Presidency* (Prentice-Hall) and is co-editor of *New Perspectives on the House of Representatives* (Rand McNally). . . . **Dan Pinck** is secretary of the Corporation of Educational Services, Incorporated. . . . **Elizabeth Stille** is a staff member.

Our cover is by **Angela Conner,** a former member of *The Reporter* staff.

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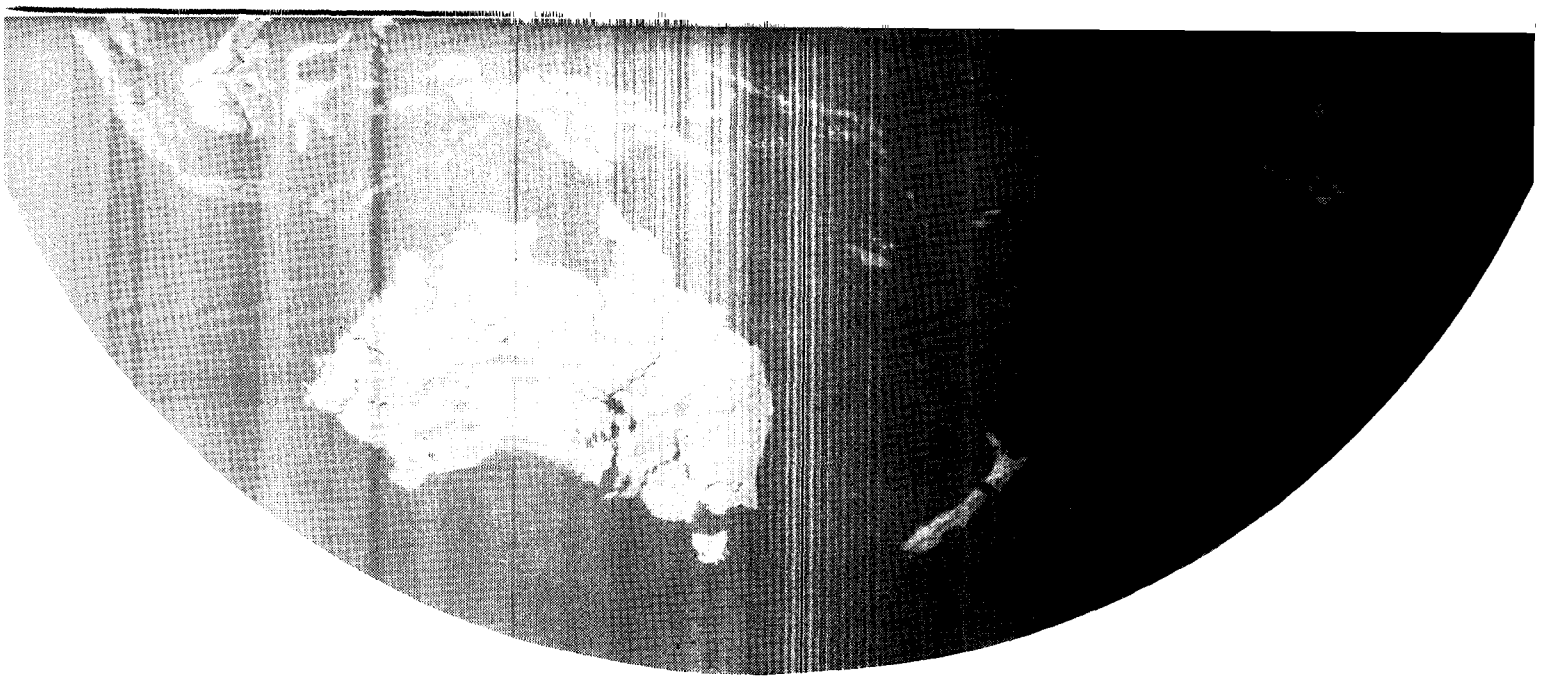

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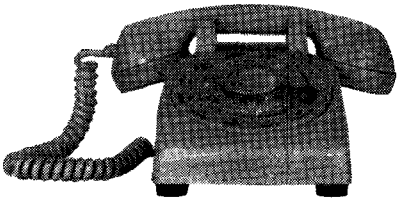

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CORRESPONDENCE

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To the Editor: Your editorial "The Boundaries of the Permissible" (*The Reporter*, April 8) eloquently evokes the dilemma we face in our efforts "to bring an end to what, for too long, has been a disgraceful chapter of national history." It is reassuring that the men charged in part with ordering this redress, such as U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., recognize our duty to balance that which exceeds "the outer limits of what is constitutionally permissible" with that which "reaches . . . to the outer limits of what is constitutionally allowed."

However, I was frankly puzzled by your apprehension over the possible ill effects of the full enfranchisement of Negro voters. One hopes that the potential abuses have been anticipated and put in proper perspective by Congress and the Johnson administration, both of which have declared that full enfranchisement is essential to continued progress. What you seem to ignore is the liberating effect that full Negro citizenship cannot fail to have upon the very people who, through their dependency on imagined racial superiority, have managed to both segregate the Negro and severely limit their own social, political, and economic future.

JEAN DEITCH
Hartford, Connecticut

UNMUDDLING EDUCATION

To the Editor: Jonathan Spivak is a conscientious, able reporter, and his "Education's Muddled Bureaucracy" (*The Reporter*, April 8) should be widely read. However, the headline does the article and those concerned with the educational programs of the Federal government something of a disservice, since most of the problems discussed were not created by the "bureaucracy" but by actions of the Congress over the years.

No one can "co-ordinate" or "direct" a wide range of activities when legal authority to do it is lacking. Perhaps, also, there is insufficient emphasis on the fact that the various "mission-oriented" departments and agencies of the Federal establishment necessarily are concerned with the research and educational activities essential to carrying out their missions, and that it is these departments, and not the Office of Education, which are held responsible by the public and Congress for carrying out their missions.

Nevertheless, as confidence in the U.S. Office of Education increases, as it has been increasing in recent years, much can and will be done. My guess is that the "interests" to which Mr. Spivak refers which have opposed transfer of certain activities of, for example, the National Science Foundation to the U.S. Office of Education (and the establishment of a Humanities and Arts Foundation *outside* the Office) would not oppose creation of a new cabinet department including these functions. This will not happen immediately, but it may happen sooner than Mr. Spivak thinks.

RUSSELL I. THACKREY
Executive Secretary
National Association of
State Universities and
Land-Grant Colleges
Washington

CIVIL DEFENSE

To the Editor: Discussing why we abandoned the evacuation plan in 1959 in "What Happened to Civil Defense?" (*The Reporter*, April 8), Elizabeth Brenner Drew reports that ". . . the greatest destruction of life [in cities] would be caused not by a direct bomb hit, in any case, but by the resulting fallout." On another page she contradicts herself, quoting Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara that in an attack occurring in 1970, of our 210 million population 150 million would be killed, if there were no improvement in our defense system. With the proposed fallout shelters only 120 million would die, a saving of 30 million. My simple arithmetic tells me that thirty is a minor part and not a major part of 150. In percentage terms, fallout shelters would reduce the probability of dying from seventy-one to fifty-seven per cent.

It is hardly surprising that people look upon such a trivial improvement in chances for survival with a jaundiced eye; especially since the number may easily be over-optimistic if one takes into account the complete destruction of transportation and communications systems that a thermonuclear war would entail. Perhaps what has happened to civil defense is that too many people have seen that there is no possible defense against such a war except avoiding one.

MAURICE B. VISSCHER
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

To the Editor: Mrs. Drew has done an excellent job—very informative and factual.

F. EDWARD HEBERT
House of Representatives
Washington

To the Editor: As one of those interviewed by Mrs. Drew for her civil-defense article, I want to compliment you on the story. It is a hard subject about which to be either interesting or accurate at this time, and I think Mrs. Drew managed both. I am sure the Department of Defense would have liked to have seen more evidence of the substantial progress being made without the shelter legislation, as they feel that this program is part of the justification for deferring action on the legislation. However, the problems of Federal decision-making and leadership are of overriding importance and were effectively communicated in your article.

STEUART L. PITTMAN
Washington

SOPHISTICATION IN SELMA

To the Editor: I would like to clarify the oversimplified characterization of the civil-rights movement that appeared in the shortened version of my article "Beyond the Bridge," (*The Reporter*, April 8). To say that ". . . the whites and the Negroes were divided into militant and moderate camps, and in the end the moderates . . . were subjected to more pressure than they could stand," is generally true for the whites, but not for the Negroes. There was widespread unanimity among all ranks in the Negro community on the immediate issues in Selma. But like all great social movements, the Negro movement has grown sophisticated with age. Where once the battle cry of "Freedom!" was enough to guarantee unity, now the quality of that freedom is undergoing minute examination in many quarters. The differing philosophical approaches to this problem in the movement are far more complex than the words militant and moderate imply.

PAUL GOOD
Atlanta

THE CO-ORDINATORS

To the Editor: Barbara Carter's efforts to explain the maze of anti-poverty programs ("Can the Job Corps Do the Job?" *The Reporter*, March 25), especially the Job Corps, should be acclaimed; but her article will be greeted more with protest than pleasure.

Co-ordination of services to the poor was a unifying theme for social reformers in the 1890's. Proliferation in the past seventy-five years of Federal, state, and local agencies, public and private, has created what Miss Carter properly describes as "complex relationships," which are certainly unrelieved by the Economic Opportunity Act. On the one hand, it is a "romantic" notion that OEO, led by Sargent Shriver, will bypass the fearsome Federal-state bureaucracy. On the other hand, we will be left with this bureaucratic structure long after OEO has "fallen by its own weight" (as some in the public-welfare bureaucracy believe it will).

In the meantime, the poor will still be with us (or, rather, about us). The cliché of alienation of the poor is a reality—not an academic exercise in Federal-local grantsmanship. Miss Carter's account of inherent contradictions at the Federal level—namely, the regrettable absence of co-ordination, forecasts the situation at the community level. And the distance between the poor and the national leadership will not be closed by good intentions of the latter.

ARCHIE HANLAN
Albany, California

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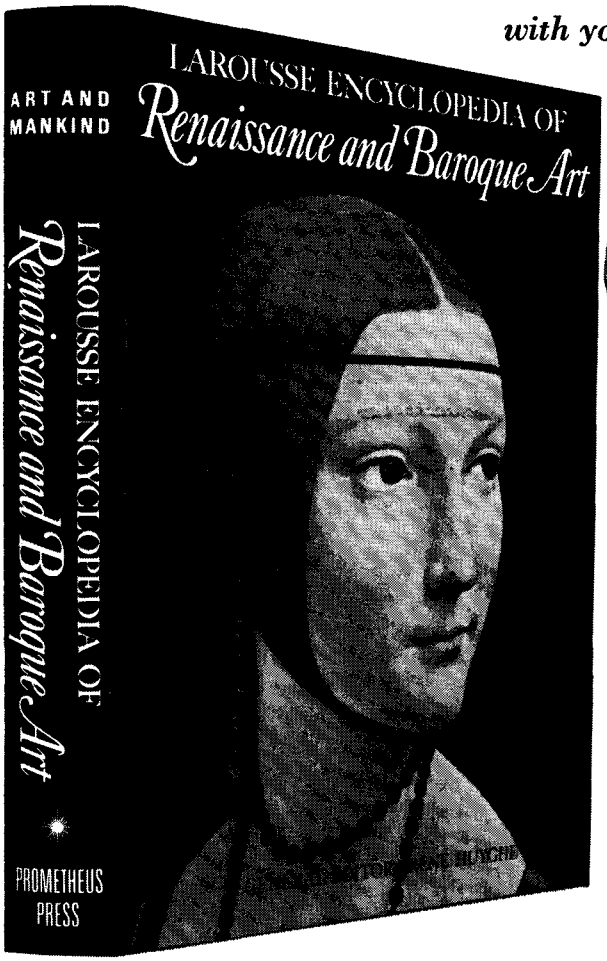

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ANDREW H. BERDING
Foreword by Robert Murphy

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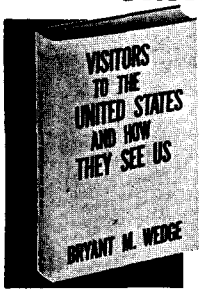

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Bunker and Bung

Our relations with Indonesia had been going from bad to worse. There had been President Sukarno's advice that we go to hell with our aid, the raids on the USIS libraries, the hoodlum invasion of the ambassador's residence, and the seizure of American properties. Behind most of this was the PKI, the largest Communist party outside the two curtains. And the pro-Peking PKI was becoming bolder in its struggle to take over the heaving coalition on which Bung Karno—as he likes to be called—balances himself.

Knowing that there was precious little likelihood that Sukarno could be persuaded to mend his ways, Washington nevertheless publicly undertook to try by sending Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker as a special representative of the President. Thus we openly upped the commitment of our prestige to a situation likely to diminish it. This gave Bung and the PKI an irresistible opening to embellish their disdain and their insults, ending with an announcement that the Peace Corps would pull out of Indonesia and the joint communiqué of Sukarno and Premier Kim Il Sung of North Korea urging our military departure from Asia. Fortunately, Bunker did not linger in Djakarta. He got out only a day ahead of the arrival of Chou En-lai and the Premier of North Vietnam.

Ambassador Bunker is a gentleman of sensitivity and a devoted public servant with a reputation as a trouble-shooter. In justifying his mission to Djakarta, the press speculated that Bung owed Bunker a debt of gratitude for his role as honest broker between the Dutch and the Indonesians over West Irian. But to assume that gratitude, where it exists at all in foreign relations, is a dependable leverage in negotiations is a bit ingenuous.

This practice of sending an eminent citizen on a special mission to charm away or reason out frustrations of our foreign policy has rarely worked, whatever the administration in Washington. The brandishing of big names may be politically sound for domestic consumption, where it may blur Presidential responsibility in awkward foreign issues and assure the public that no stone is left unturned—not even the millstone around the special representative's neck. But in foreign affairs it is of dubious value. In a venture where the outcome is likely to go counter to our wishes, to appoint an eminent special representative is to risk publicizing our discomfiture when the predictable setback occurs and to enable our adversaries to magnify greatly their success.

This isn't good diplomacy. It isn't even good public relations.

The Perennial Marchers

"I felt as if I had arrived at the Finland Station," the bearded boy said and everyone around him smiled. Close to sixteen thousand students had come by train, car, and bus to Washington over Easter weekend to participate in the capital's first End-the-War-in-Vietnam rally. The march was organized by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which claims 2,500 members on fifty-five college campuses. Organizers planned a mass picketing of the White House, followed by a long line of march to a rally at the Sylvan Theatre next to the Washington Monument, and display of signs such as "Negotiations —Not War" . . . "Stop Killing" . . . "I Will Not Fight in Vietnam."

Many of the faces were familiar: in fact it was difficult to tell where the civil-rights cause left off and the peace cause began. The march was endorsed by James Farmer of CORE, and Robert Moses of SNCC

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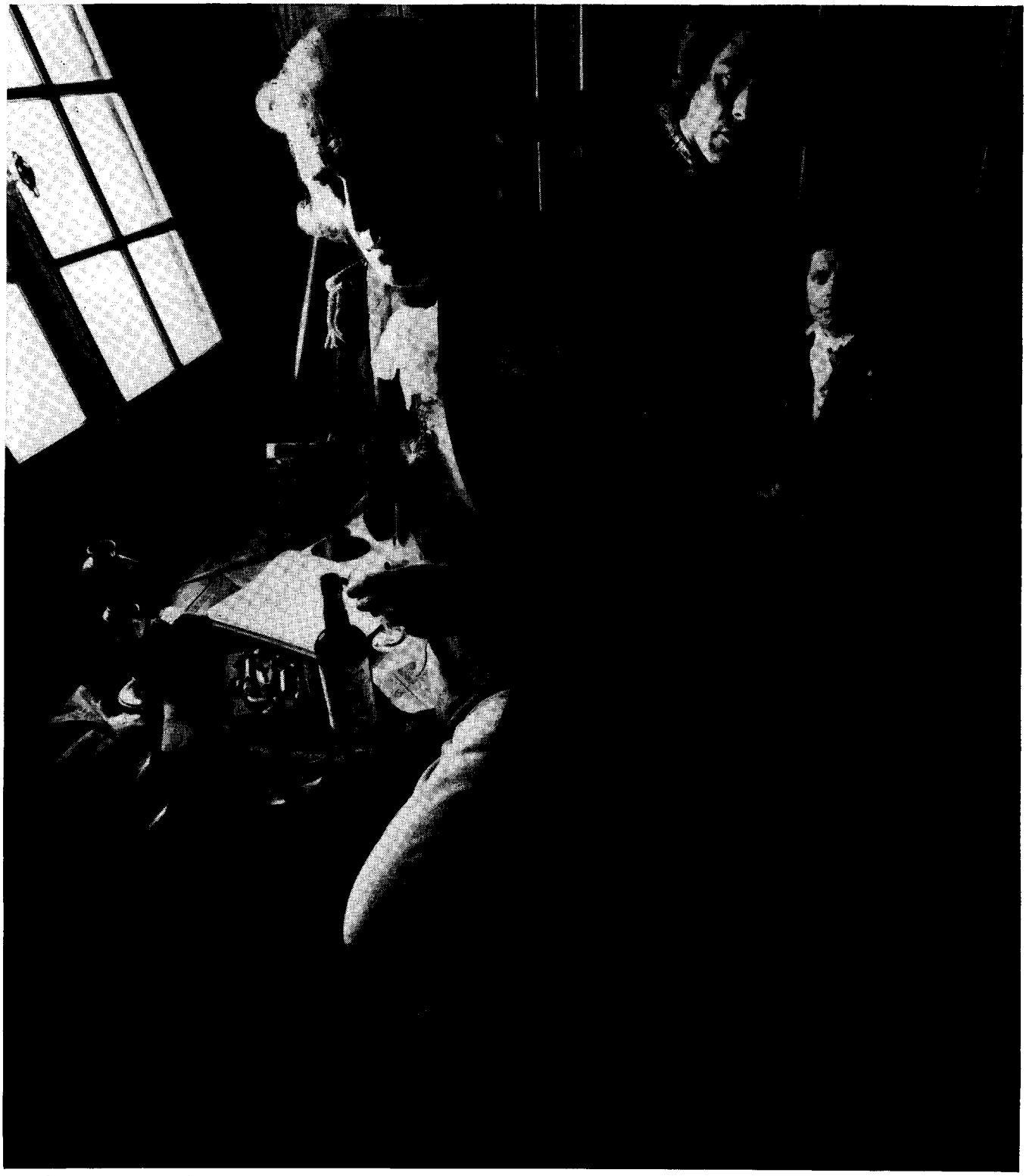

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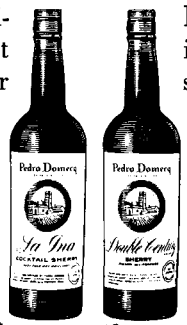

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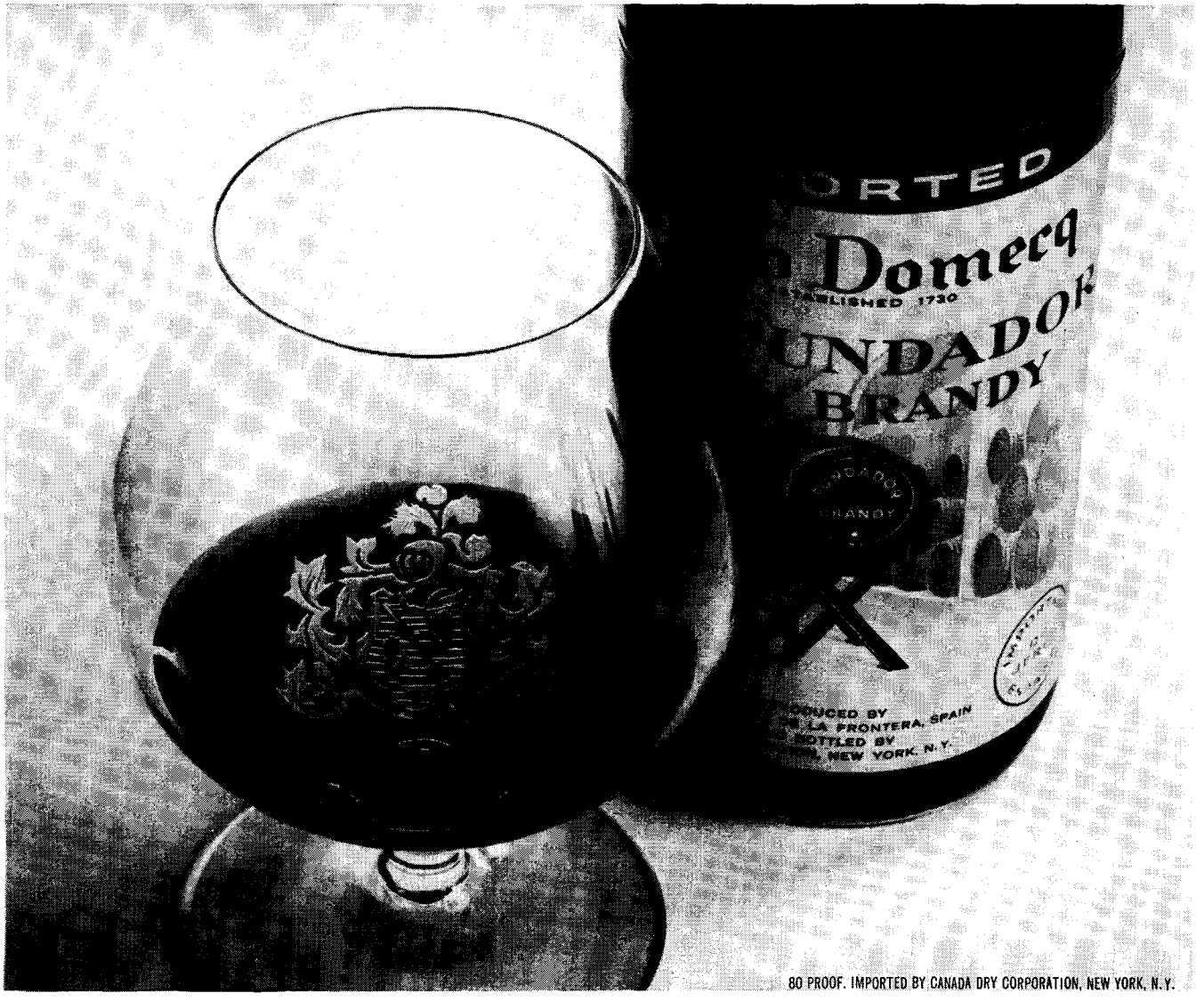

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was a speaker. Two days before the march, student civil-rights leaders held a sort of summit conference at Georgetown University. "Everybody was in town," said one, "and it seemed a good idea to have some seminars."

After a two-day meeting following the march, SDS leaders announced that they had designated the week of May 3 as "Vietnam Emphasis Week" and students were already planning teach-ins, marches, and demonstrations. They also named a five-man committee to map "contingency plans" in the event the war escalates. The plans call for "real radical activity," according to one SDS spokesman, including civil disobedience. So SDS, heretofore identified with civil rights and poverty, now enters the peace fight. As an SDS statement puts it: "What kind of America is it whose response to poverty and oppression in South Vietnam is napalm and defoliation, whose response to poverty and oppression in Mississippi is . . . silence?" If the logic is unfamiliar, the rhetoric is not.

As the pickets paraded on Pennsylvania Avenue, McGeorge Bundy, the President's national security adviser, was accepting a petition signed by six thousand University of Wisconsin students supporting the administration's position in Southeast Asia. Later, Bundy agreed to see an SDS representative —only to have the student plead a prior engagement. When organizers of the march made overtures to congressmen to meet with them after the rally, there were no takers. The purpose of the march, as explained by SDS Washington coordinator Paul Booth, was to put pressure on the administration and, by publicity, to bring "the situation" to the attention of the American people. At an overcrowded press conference the morning of the march, Booth made it clear that SDS was seeking support for its peacemaking efforts from wherever it could get it. There will be no attempt to screen participants. And judging from the Bundy experience there will be no attempt to hear—or be heard by—administration experts. Neither, apparently, will there be any attempt to draft new and more meaningful proposals.

What did SDS really want LBJ to do?

"End the war," said Booth.

"How?" newsmen asked.

"We're not here to spell out details of negotiations," Booth said as cameras whirred and reporters scribbled. "That's for the diplomats to figure out."

The Long Season

There's something about a persistent loser, as the New York Mets well know, that is very appealing. For what other team do fans abase themselves so much as to thread the needles that prick the fingers that sew the sheets that make the banners that carry the name that hangs full view to encourage the team that keeps its record by losing the game on every opening day? Now fans are not unlike voters, and the sources of such popularity are worth considering. Indeed, as the reapportionment season opens again in New York, it appears that the legislators in Albany have been weighing the advantages of becoming beguiling losers in the manner of the Mets.

Reapportionment, however, is a crazy game. The rules are catch as catch can, and losing only counts when no one doubts you want to win. Last season, for example, when the Republican Elephants were at bat, they popped up four reapportionment plans, one right after the other, in the expectation that even if three turned out to be foul balls, the fourth might drop fair and get them home. It didn't work. There were boos. There were accusations that they had batted out of turn. Finally, their side was forced to retire before the play was finished. Afterward, the court ruled they had struck out.

Now it is the Democratic Donkeys' innings. So far, they are just milling about the field, giving each other friendly punches, and clowning for the crowd in accepted Mets fashion. Still, we're not sure the Dems can match the Mets and win by losing—or win by winning, either —when election time rolls around again. The commentators are doing their best. "There goes J. Raymond Jones," they say, in hushed

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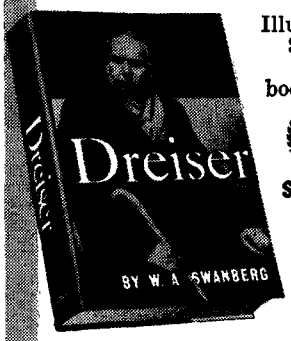

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tones, playing their microphones close to the chests. "He's just finished hefting several bats, chosen one, and is heading for the plate." But it isn't doing much good. The crowd is not responding quite as it should. Some in the bleachers have even struck a sour note. "How long is this game going to last?" they've asked. That's not like the Mets fans at all.

Nine Eager Men

While the Senate was agreeing to accept the House version of President Johnson's education bill one recent afternoon, a bipartisan group of nine liberals on the Senate Judiciary Committee was having a field day changing the administration's voting-rights bill. And this in a committee that had traditionally been considered a Southern stronghold!

So quickly and easily were amendments to broaden the bill accepted, that at one point an aide came out of the meeting and jocularly asked newsmen if they had any amendments to offer. Later, jubilant Senators Philip A. Hart (D., Michigan) and Jacob K. Javits (R., New York) briefed the reporters on the changes; then Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen gave his version of what had happened. "I think," he said, "the eager beavers are just reaching out a little too far."

What happened that afternoon was the result of the steady infiltration of civil-rights backers into the committee and the fact that they had been able to agree among themselves (a state not easily achieved) to turn down the compromise bill worked out by Dirksen and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. Last year, the bipartisan group had to settle for a compromise on the civil-rights bill after Senator Hubert H. Humphrey assured them that this was the only way to break a determined Southern filibuster. This year, without Humphrey to negotiate for them, tired of playing the passive role, and sensing that the Southern opposition would not be so formidable, the group of nine senators rebelled.

Despite the pleas of administra-

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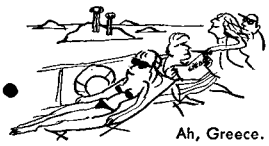

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tion officials who were rushed to the Hill the following morning, the amendments stayed in the bill. Unfortunately, not enough time was left to go over the changes carefully or to consider others, for the committee was working against a deadline imposed by the Senate under the impression that the Southern members were still able to bottle up the bill.

Having won the day in the Judiciary Committee, Hart, Javits, & Co. will now have to defend the bill on the Senate floor. Theoretically, they should be in a strong position. The Southerners' key strategist, Richard B. Russell of Georgia, is recuperating from an illness and is not likely to return for the fight. The once-formidable Southern bloc is not only leaderless but suffering from defections on the voting-rights issue. But the bill that has emerged from the many revisions by Dirksen, the Justice Department, and the Judiciary Committee is virtually unreadable. There are now at least four formulas that put a state under the bill's coverage or take it out again: a state is in if less than fifty per cent of its citizens were registered or voted in the 1964 elections and if it has a literacy test; it is out if less than twenty per cent of its residents are nonwhite; it is in if less than twenty-five per cent of its Negroes are registered; and it can come out if at least sixty per cent of its population registers and it proves in court that it does not discriminate. The bill's backers are understandably nervous that innocent-seeming amendments offered on the Senate floor could further gum up the works.

Whatever the outcome, the rebellion in the Senate Judiciary Committee that April afternoon has already left its permanent results. The Southerners lost a committee; the reporters lost a standard clause in their copy ("the Senate Judiciary Committee, burial ground for civil-rights legislation,"); and the liberals have lost another of their devils. There is no Eisenhower administration, no formidable Southern bloc, no more Senate reluctance to shut off a filibuster, and not even a Senate Judiciary Committee standing in the way of a good civil-rights bill.

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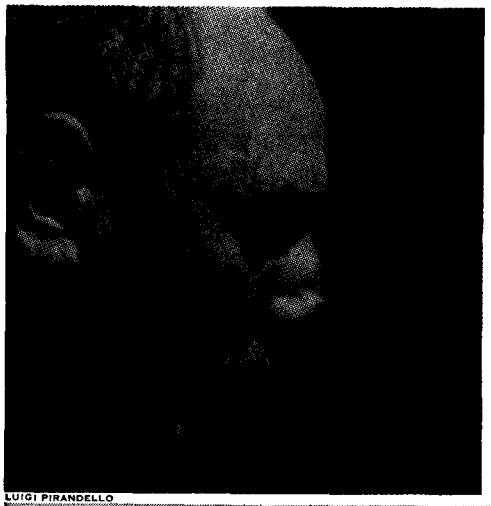
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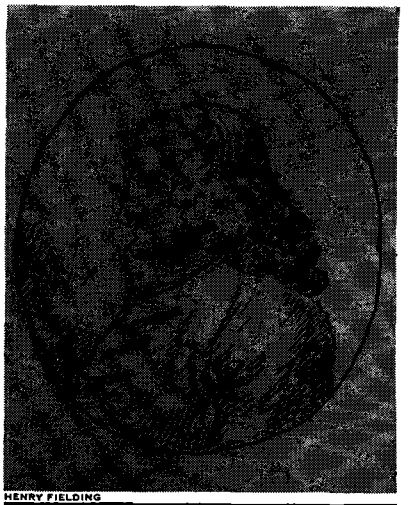
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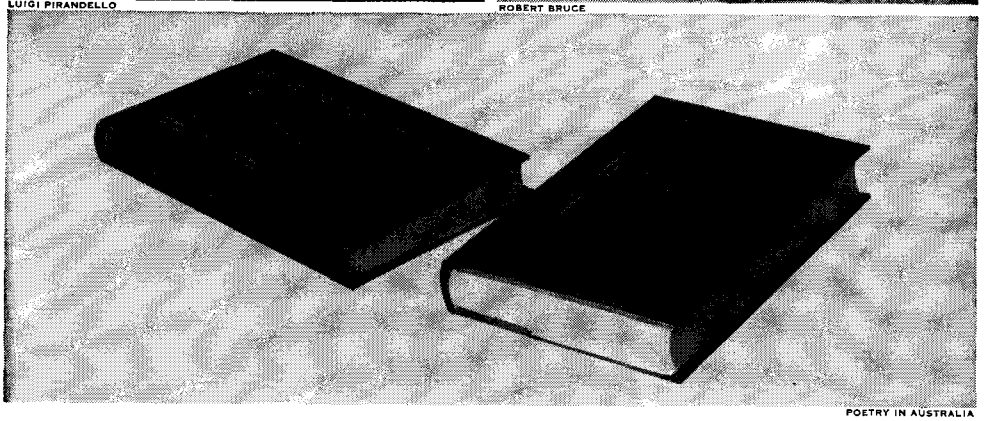
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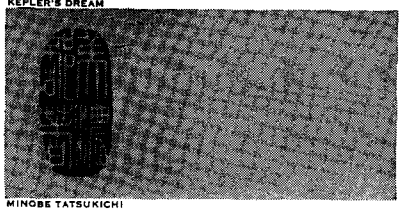
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The Lost Session at the U.N.

MEG GREENFIELD

A FEW MONTHS after the International Court of Justice had delivered its advisory opinion that the costs of the U.N. military operations in the Congo and Middle East were validly incurred expenses and should be borne by the membership as a whole, the New York *Times* delivered an advisory opinion of its own. It was mid-December, 1962; the General Assembly had just voted to accept the court's decision; and since neither France nor the Soviet Union showed any signs of yielding in its determination not to pay, it was evident that both nations would soon be sufficiently in arrears to come under the sanction of the Charter's Article 19—loss of the right to vote in the Assembly. It was to this eventuality that the *Times* editorial addressed itself, declaring that if the Assembly failed to enforce Article 19 when the moment came, the U.N. would be reduced to a "mere debating society on the road to the fate of the League of Nations."

The *Times* proved consistent in the months and years to come in this concern for the organization's survival; the only thing that changed was its view of where the threat was coming from. Thus, an editorial on February 4 of this year summed up the danger anew. "Both sides," it complained, "from the beginning, have been willing to risk the efficacy, if not the survival in the long run, of the United Nations on a fight to the finish over Article 19. . . ." What had once been described as the delinquents' "contemptuous violation of the United Nations Charter" was now revealed to be nothing more than a two-sided "wrangle over old debts."

The *Times* was far from alone in this progression of thought, which was particularly evident on the East River. Accordingly, a somewhat bewildered American public saw its government commended last December for backing down on what it had previously been assured was an all but holy issue and one in which the United States had been supporting a position originated by the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and duly endorsed by both the World Court and the General Assembly. By that time, however, it is possible that the public was already too confused to be bewildered, since the United States was now trying to avoid the confrontation, the Soviet Union was demanding that it take place, and the secretary-general was attempting mediation.

How did the United States get from there to here? Whose quarrel was it? Had the dues dispute ever actually been a Charter issue? Or was it all along simply a crotchet of American foreign policy? Although the dispute has yet to be settled, more than enough has already occurred to warrant a look at the policies and events that contributed to

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the Soviet Union's first major victory in almost twenty years of tangling with the West over the meaning of the United Nations Charter.

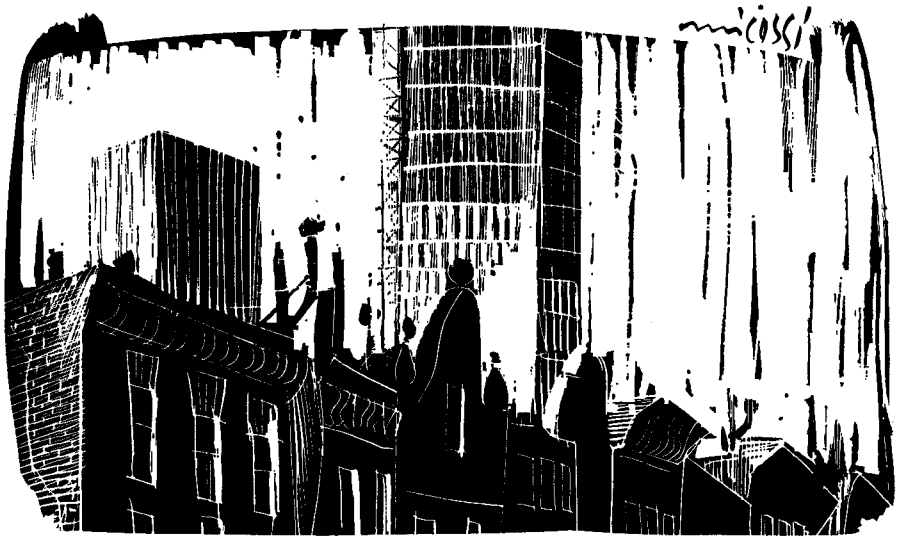
Who Pays the Tab?

In explanation of the U.S. retreat in the Assembly last winter, it is often said that the issue turned out to be "political" and not "legal" after all—an observation that is not quite to the point. In fact, it had its origin as a financial problem which, when it became acute, compelled both sides to give legal underpinning to their positions. The subsequent campaign to suspend members' voting rights gave the whole affair its political character. But even in its full-blown stage, commencing in 1964, the political contest was being fought out over what had become and was to remain a legal question.

The early and visible sources of the dispute were the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) that was dispatched to the Middle East during the Suez affair of 1956 and the United Nations Congo operation (ONUC) that was organized at the request of Premier Patrice Lumumba in the summer of 1960. From their inception, the two operations created dissension within the Assembly's Fifth Committee, which has jurisdiction over questions of finance. Although similar activities of lesser magnitude had been financed through the regular budget in the past, UNEF and ONUC were the first major (and expensive) operations whose costs were to be assessed on the membership as a whole, an innovation that was urged by Hammarskjöld and that profoundly offended the Soviet Union. The Russians insisted that the costs be borne by the "aggressor" states, adding that the two operations (in the creation of which they had acquiesced) were, in any event, illegal. The French ultimately declined to pay only for the Congo effort, of which they disapproved on the narrower ground that while the authorization had been legal, the assessments were not of a binding or obligatory nature. A number of Latin American, Asian, and African nations also attempted to remove the assessed expenses from the penalty of Article 19 by reason of their inability or disinclination to pay. Thus, by the time the Sixteenth General Assembly convened in 1961 with its famous $100-million deficit, well over half the members were in arrears for one or both operations, while the United States was paying forty-eight per cent of ONUC's cost. With strong U.S. encouragement, the question of payments was then referred to the World Court. And although the point raised by the French was not fully answered, the court's opinion went a long way to legitimating both the Assembly's authority to launch such operations and its right to apportion their costs. It also made inevitable the move to enforce Article 19.

THESE DAYS it is no trick to find persons in government who profess to have doubted the wisdom of U.S. policy in encouraging all this from the beginning. At the time, however, there appear to have been few objectors. Indeed, as one participant recalls it, when word of the court's decision was received at a State Department staff meeting, everyone present rose and applauded legal adviser Abram Chayes who had argued the case in The Hague and in whose office the U.S. position had, in good part, been worked out. In so far as the U.N. itself was concerned, the department appears to have had a variety of objectives. One was the establishment of what it called the "principle of collective responsibility" in the Assembly. Another was to counter what looked to be a renewed Soviet attack upon the workings of the organization. Again, there was the department's traditional interest in maintaining the Assembly's "residual" right to act when the Security Council was stymied by the veto. And those with somewhat extravagant confidence in the collective wisdom and usefulness of the Assembly had somewhat more extravagant aims in mind. "We did it," a department official told me by way of explaining the pursuit of the delinquents, "to extend the authority of the General Assembly." In whatever combination these motives underlay the U.S. decision to encourage a World Court hearing and to bring the issue to a head in the Assembly, there is no question that a more immediate objective was decisive both in shaping the department's policy and in creating the commitment to pursue it—namely, that of persuading Congress to authorize the purchase of $100 million worth of U.N. bonds in the spring of 1962.

The purpose of the bond issue, which was devised by the State Department, was to provide funds for the continuance of the Congo operation, which by then had aroused considerable misgiving on the Hill. "I think," as Representative Wayne Hays (D., Ohio) put it in the course of the hearings, "this Adoula is a lemon." There were other reasons to expect trouble, not the least of which was that the chaotic financial picture in New York was bound to put Congress' deficit-spending gland into a state of extreme agitation. Nor was the situation helped when it developed that many of the nations the



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department had cited as being paid up were only in that enviable condition because the U.S. was providing eighty per cent of the funds. The measure, which was eventually rewritten to the specifications of Senator George Aiken (R., Vermont), provoked one of the noisiest fights in Washington that spring, and it is highly doubtful that it could have got through the Senate at all had the administration not been able to point ahead to the likelihood of a favorable World Court opinion and of the Soviet bloc's being punished if it failed to settle its account.

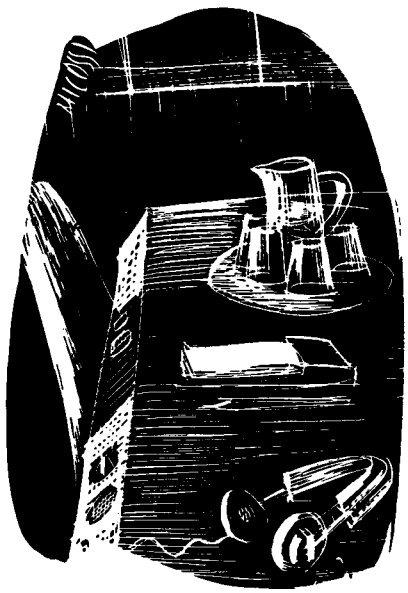
Even so, Congress remained unimpressed. Again and again certain legislators expressed their doubt that the Russians would back down. In the course of meeting such objections, the department's spokesmen revealed the assumptions upon which their policy was based. Roughly, the thinking went like this: the delinquent states would be disposed to pay up rather than lose their votes in the Assembly. They would be faced with this choice because the Assembly would bring pressure to bear, acting upon its desire to protect its own powers which were at stake and out of its respect for the sanctity of the Charter and the rule of law. The rule of law would come into play with the court's decision, which would also give the secretary-general the authority he needed to press the organization's claims. As things turned out, neither the Soviet Union, the Assembly members, nor the secretary-general showed much inclination to follow the script.

'Pour le Sport'

For a while it appeared that the department's expectations had been justified. For one thing, U Thant strongly urged the members to adopt a resolution accepting the court's opinion. "Not to do so . . . ," he warned the Fifth Committee, would be "a blow at the authority and standing of both the court and the Assembly in a matter vital to the future of the United Nations." Moreover, the members so resolved by seventy-six to seventeen—an increase of twenty-four votes over the majority by which the question had been referred to the court in the first place. None of this seemed unduly troubling to the French, however, or, more importantly, to the Soviet Union, which reacted by hardening its position. Eventually it became apparent that Washington's hopes for Afro-Asian pressure on the delinquents had been somewhat romantic: the thing was working the other way round.

THE ORIGIN of the Soviet refusal to pay appears to have been less a matter of money or even an attempt to establish some sort of veto than a matter of simply taking an opportunity to make some trouble. Given the present composition of the Assembly, there was clearly a good deal of hay to be made with a demand that England, France, and Israel in the one case, and Belgium in the other, should be made to bear the costs of their "adventures." Moreover, the Russians had been sorely disappointed at the turn of events in the Congo in the summer of 1960.

The very fact that the Russians had tolerated the creation of either of these forces in the first place, however, is evidence of an ambivalent policy that has developed on their part toward U.N. interventions —especially with the progressive en-



largement of the Assembly. In an array of irreconcilable votes and statements, they have managed publicly to maintain their position that only the Security Council is empowered to launch what are known in U.N. parlance as peacekeeping operations, while at the same time encouraging such efforts of the Assembly as may prove useful to them. UNEF is an example, since it originated under the Uniting for Peace procedure which the Russians find particularly abhorrent—yet it spared them from having to make good on their extravagant commitment to President Nasser. Similarly, U.N. operations could spare the Soviet Union from having to make embarrassing choices between any number of hostile neighbor states—Algeria and Morocco, Ethiopia and Somalia, India and Pakistan. This possibility, along with possibilities of neutralizing, defuzing, and meddling in situations as it may serve their interest, is believed to be the reason that, for all their protestations, the Soviets have sought since the mid-1950's to leave the question of U.N. interventions open and unresolved.

If a choice had to be made, however, there was never much doubt as to which way the Soviets would go, and as the pressure to pay grew, the Soviet position began to crystallize. What had begun as a sort of *pour le sport* provocation in the Fifth Committee, developed into a systematic attack on the Assembly's right to finance operations such as UNEF and ONUC as well as to authorize and/or execute them. In demanding what the New York *Times* formerly called a "financial veto," and in arguing that the Security Council alone could finance activities such as those in question, the Russians were acting entirely in consistency with their traditional policy of resisting any effort to permit the U.N. to act without their specific concurrence.

As time passed there was little room left for doubt about the Russians' seriousness in all this. In the spring of 1963, Soviet delegates passed the word in the corridors that if any funds were appropriated for amortization of the U.N. bonds, they might well be obliged to walk out. The same year, Moscow announced that it would no longer pay for certain items in the regular budget to which it had previously found no objection, such as the cost of the Palestine truce organization and even the upkeep of the U.N. Korean cemetery. From time to time when opposition seemed to be building, the Russians would dissipate it by vaguely hinting at some sort of voluntary contribution they might make; but, by and

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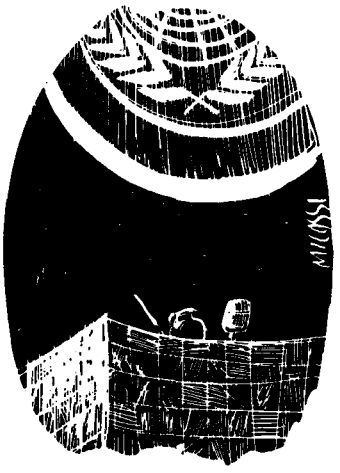
large, they were unsparing in their attacks on delegates who did not see the wisdom of their position as well as on the secretary-general when he did nothing more indiscreet than announce the total arrearages. Last fall before the Assembly opened, Moscow in fact dispatched three deputy foreign ministers on a tour of African and Latin American capitals, where they intimated that there would probably be a walkout if Article 19 were invoked, with the resultant breakup of the United Nations, and that the Soviet government would consider even an abstention from the vote as an "unfriendly act."

Toward Bilateral Conflict

It is not difficult to imagine the effect these tactics had on the American plan to get the uncommitted nations —particularly those in the fifty-five-nation Afro-Asian group—identified with and enthusiastic about the drive to enforce Article 19. "The Russians," in the words of a U.S. mission official, "scared hell out of them." There was, however, a good deal more to it than that. Certain of the Afro-Asian bloc's leaders such as the Indians and the representatives of the U.A.R. had their reasons—ranging from the delivery of MIGs to the delivery of a Security Council veto in Arab-Israeli disputes—for not going out of their way to punish the Russians. Those leaders, such as Nigeria's Chief Adebo, who confessed to finding more than a little logic and good law in the court-upheld position were promptly denounced by others in the group as "tools of the West." In fact, when Chief Adebo had the temerity to endorse a compromise plan which retained features acceptable to the U.S. mission, the plan was suddenly withdrawn, the Algerians—among others—having let it be known that Chief Adebo was not speaking for them any longer. The result of this sort of skirmishing was simply to neutralize the neutral bloc.

Nor did the Afro-Asians exactly fulfill the department's ideals when it came to concern for the rule of law, the sanctity of the Charter, and the Assembly's duty to protect its own authority. From the outset it had been a pretty dubious proposition that they would. ". . . many nations profess great respect for the court and the processes of international law," a departmental memorandum had noted at the time of the bond hearings. But by last winter Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland was obliged to revise the official position. ". . . the cultural experience of delegates from more than a hundred countries," he observed,



"does not provide them with a common set of values with respect to the sanctity of law, the integrity of constitutions, and the proceedings of parliamentary bodies."

Notably, although twenty member states had presented written arguments to the court and nine had argued orally before it, there was not a single member of the uncommitted Afro-Asian bloc among them—with the exception of Upper Volta, which presented a brief memorandum in support of the French position. Neither did a single Latin American state participate in the proceedings.

All this was early evidence of a predisposition on the part of the uncommitted nations to view the whole affair less as an attack on their prerogatives than as a "big power conflict" in which blame, if not the expenses of the organization, was to be apportioned by the members of the Assembly. Indeed, so great was the pressure to create, at least schematically, a sort of troika situation in which the Afro-Asians and even some Latin Americans could serve as peacemakers that by late last winter it was not uncommon to hear delegates of smaller nations speaking hopefully of arranging some sort of solution that would amount to a *Pax Sovietica-Americana,* and one which would result in a drastic diminution of their own powers. "It is your power of assessment which is being challenged directly," U.S. Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson warned last January. By February he was complaining to the Assembly of the "grotesque irony" of equating "the position of those who support the authority of the General Assembly with the stand of those who have denied and defied that authority." It was too late. The U.N. no longer figured in the scheme of things as a party to the proceedings.

IN GOOD PART, this development was due to Secretary-General U Thant's conception of the nature of the struggle and of his own proper role in it. From the beginning, he inclined to concentrate on the fiscal and political aspects of the problem to the neglect of the institutional issue that had been raised. Since the money crisis, which he inherited, coincided almost exactly with U Thant's term of office and since it unavoidably grew worse in the course of it, his anxiety about raising funds and paying bills pretty well explains itself. Nonetheless, his numerous critics contend that in contrast with Hammarskjöld, U Thant mediated between the major members, as distinct from negotiating on behalf of the organization. As time passed, his attempts "to break the deadlock" and his unwillingness to commit the organization to a stand indicated that he had come to accept the "big power conflict" view of events; and once the Secretariat had bowed out of the conflict, that was precisely what it was bound to become. Early in March a top-ranking official of the Secretariat commended to my attention an outline of events that he had handy on his desk and that gives an idea of the distance that had come to exist between the U.N. and Washington. It called upon the United States to "drop its present obstructionism" and interpreted American insistence that the delinquents either pay or be penalized as the result of "a major policy decision in Washington which includes the possibility of destroying the United Nations. . . . "

As late as the spring of 1963, the U.S. was publicly refusing the demands of interested nations that it enter into bilateral talks with the

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Russians, on the grounds that the dispute was between the U.N. and the delinquent states. But it was becoming ever more apparent that not only illusions but also self-perpetuating problems had been built into its original position. To achieve anything decisive in the Assembly requires U.S. leadership, especially if it involves taking on the Soviet bloc; and the department's Soviet analysts were of a mind that the Soviets would only back down—if at all—under the severest kind of pressure. Yet the more visible the U.S. efforts became and the more intransigeant they appeared, the more certain were the uncommitted delegates—from whom the pressure was also supposed to come—that they were witnessing an East-West spectacular in which their position would be compromised by taking sides.

As 1964 approached—the year in which the Russian debt would assume penalty proportions—the department began to formulate a plan it believed might rally the Afro-Asians and the Latin Americans, bring the Russians around, and leave its own position more or less intact. U.S. readiness to negotiate was made public by Secretary of State Dean Rusk in an address at Columbia University in January of 1964, in which he suggested that there was in fact a need to revise the procedures for authorizing and financing major U.N. operations. "It will require a shift away from some hardened ideas and some rigid patterns of action and reaction," he said, adding, "—perhaps on all sides."

Representation Without Taxation

The Rusk speech was the product of a long-term study conducted by the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, and it introduced an entirely new and somewhat startling element into the conflict: the U.S. was now becoming apprehensive of the implications that could be drawn from the court's opinion, as well as from its own position. To be sure, it was not the first to do so. "I am not sure why the State Department's representatives use this expression 'collective financial responsibility' so much," Representative Peter Frelinghuysen (R., N. J.) had observed during the U.N. bond hearings. "Suppose the U.N. in the future were to consider an economic program, say, or a peacekeeping operation, which was approved by the Assembly because it had a very broad appeal to the U.N. membership. Let us suppose also that this program would cost several hundred million dollars. Might we not inevitably be obliged to take at least one-third of the expense . . . whether we wanted it or not?" The question had also troubled the World Court's Judge Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice who, in a separate concurring opinion at the time, regretted that the court had not gone into the thorny problem of whether there was not a distinction to be made between assessments for operations that were "essential and obligatory" and those that were merely proper and permissive. Could the swelling General Assembly, simply by levying a tax, create a legal

obligation? Or was there a right of last resort not to pay for operations that were not essential to the organization's carrying out its purposes as set forth in the Charter? The court didn't say. But where the launching of both economic and military or policing operations was concerned, it was clear that the department now divined a potentially dangerous imbalance between power and responsibility in the Assembly, and the court had given precious little guidance as to what limitations there were upon its power. "Theoretically," Rusk told his Columbia audience, "a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly could now be formed by nations with only ten per cent of the world's population, or who contribute, altogether, five per cent of the assessed budget. . . . "

In a way, the Rusk address and the department's subsequent moves marked the reversal of a process of enlarging the Assembly's authority that had begun with the American-sponsored passage of the Uniting for Peace Resolution in 1950 and which had been pursued without much discrimination under two succeeding administrations. What the department now sought were procedures for authorizing and financing operations such as UNEF and ONUC in the future which, while preserving the Assembly's final yea-or-nay authority, would assure that the nations responsible for maintaining the operations would have a strong voice in their establishment and direction. Accordingly, a proposal was worked out for negotiation. Its principal feature was the creation of a finance committee heavily weighted with representatives of the big powers, which would enjoy exclusive rights in making recommendations to the Assembly and which could "select out" (or excuse) a member state from paying for a particular operation. Member states would not enjoy the right to "opt" out.

WHERE did that leave Article 19 and the campaign to make the delinquents pay up? The department intended to continue its drive for the penalty, and, as an earnest of this intention, at the same time it was setting forth the new proposal, it delivered to the foreign ministers of all the member states both a legal memorandum and a political *aide mémoire* on the importance of invoking the sanction. Department officials can make a persuasive argument that the two efforts were not mutually contradictory. A good deal of staff work and planning had gone into the campaign, which officials envisioned as a carrot-and-stick strategy. They assumed that the new proposal would be sufficiently attractive to the Russians and the French to induce them to make

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some voluntary, face-saving payment on their debts, thereby preserving the principle at issue which was also preserved in the U.S. plan.

It sounded better than it worked. For one thing, the dual approach left unanswered a critical question about American policy: if Washington could not get the safeguard of its own new plan, did it still want to establish the precedent of invoking Article 19 against non-payers? The question was never answered, but it was widely assumed that it did not. Thus, the whole move was susceptible of interpretation as a backdown, and from that point of view it seemed positively wanton to insist on punishing the delinquents for violating a rule that the State Department now was prepared to abandon. To succeed, such a narrowly and precariously drawn plan would have required the tightest and most disciplined kind of diplomacy, which is exactly what the U.N., with its swarming intrigues, its counter-intrigues, its middlemen, its caucuses, and its centrally located bar, does not provide. For example, the British had been floating a plan for about a year which featured an "opting out" provision and which reportedly was favored by the U.S. mission in New York. It is also said to have been a subject of negotiation between the mission and the department as early as 1963—the department having finally exercised its right of veto. Nevertheless, not only was the new U.S. plan immediately confused with the British one, but to this day it is possible to talk with delegates and with U.S. officials in New York and Washington without twice getting the same version of whether it actually was offered at some time officially or unofficially as U.S. policy—a question of some significance since "opting out" is what the French and the Soviet bloc presumably were being punished for.

Avoiding a Showdown

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. negotiations which got under way with the introduction of the U.S. proposal in March of 1964 turned out not to be bilateral after all, but unilateral. The proposal was greeted with a blast by the Soviet Union, and thereafter there was silence. Although the press of the period was awash with stories that the two sides were "within negotiating distance," the fact is that Ambassador Stevenson was having trouble even arranging sessions to talk with his Soviet counterpart,

Nikolai T. Fedorenko. Within the administration and especially between the U.S. mission and Washington, a certain amount of conflict developed between those who held that the "hard line" on Article 19 should be omitted from public statements while the talks were going on and those who held that only by sticking to that line was there any chance of getting real talks going. The conflict, which was to deepen as time passed, was resolved in this case in favor of those who proposed a moratorium on tough talk—leaving the Soviet Union the sole provider of that commodity: in July the Soviets unveiled a proposal to create a U.N. armed force that would be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Security Council and whose troops as well as commanding officers would be selected on the troika principle. In the course of the summer Khrushchev reiterated his "not a kopeck" position to U Thant in Moscow. At the ambassadorial level in both countries the same kind of exchanges were going on.

By autumn it was apparent that neither the new U.S. proposal nor the illusion of negotiations had been particularly helpful. On the substantive points of the conflict there had been no progress at all. But the impression had been created of a U.S. backdown, the U.S. position had been genuinely eroded by a smörgasbord-like offering of face-savers and escape plans to the Russians, and those within the administration and around the U.N. who were not eager for the confrontation could argue that we were making a horrendous scene and asking others to join with us over a principle we ourselves no longer held. The notion that there had been talks and that a solution was near produced intense agitation for more talks and more delay among the delegates, and these impressions were encouraged by the Soviet bloc members who were bruiting about the news that the Johnson administration intended to throw in the towel after the U.S. elections. From the vantage point of the U.N., the hardboiled talk that was still coming out of Washington seemed incredible and perverse. In Washington, the leaks coming out in the press from New York suggested that its own particular ship there might be sinking.

While both the mission and the department are stout in their public denials that there was ever anything less than unanimity among them, the inconsistent and somewhat jerky signals the U.S. was emitting during the period could only confirm the impression of a policy dispute within the administration between those who wanted to avoid the showdown and those who were prepared to go through with it.

As LATE as October 8, the administration went on record as insisting that the Assembly take action on the delinquents' voting rights the day the Assembly convened. But the U.S. mission was having its troubles with the plans for opening day. Assembly President Sosa Rodriguez let it be known that, unlike his predecessor Zafrulla Khan, he did not consider Article 19 to be automatic and mandatory, and half a dozen private meetings with him could not change his opinion that a resolution and a two-thirds vote would be required for its application. Ought his ruling to be challenged? Did the U.S. have the vote? How many abstentions would there be? Most of those close to the scene believe that there was a two-thirds majority available for a showdown vote—if the showdown could be reached without a previous move to adjourn. But by then there was also the question of whether the U.S. wanted a showdown. Some time in the late autumn, Fedorenko had approached the U.S. mission with a

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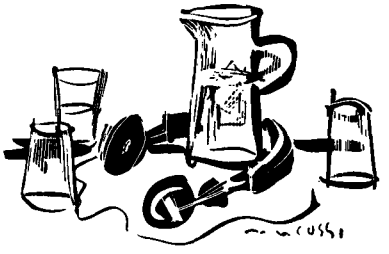
private suggestion that the United States support a call to "study" the whole problem while permitting ordinary voting to occur. The proposal was rejected, but the mission did set about thinking of ways to avoid the showdown on opening day; and when, before the Assembly opened, U Thant presented just such a plan whereby no votes at all would be taken, he had the best possible reasons for supposing it was acceptable to the U.S.

There Goes the Ball Game

Reportedly, the decision to back off at the end of November was made by Secretary Rusk at Ambassador Stevenson's urging. By then the U.N. conflict had come to loom large in Soviet-U.S. relations, and the change of the Soviet government figured prominently in the U.S. decision not to press for an immediate test in the Assembly. Late in November, moreover, Andrei Gromyko had arrived for talks with Rusk, Stevenson, and others in New York, and he had told them the Soviet Union was prepared to make a voluntary contribution of undisclosed size at an undisclosed time by way of meeting the arrears problem. He had left the impression that it wasn't worth wasting much time talking about and that he had the authority to make a settlement. It was a chance, and the U.S. took it—saying that the contribution must be "enough" and it must come "soon." For some time there were intensive negotiations over their offer. Actual amounts were discussed; the Soviets expressed so much concern over how the settlement would be presented in our press that there was even some Soviet-American discussion of how much could be withheld by them at the last minute with a view to saving face. All this was in early December. Near the end of the month the Soviet demands, including absolution without payment, were stiffening and the deal was gone. At one point the U.S. even let it be known that it would accept as adequate payment a sum that satisfied U Thant without our knowing what it was. But that move did little good. Despite the secretary-general's ever-available ear, the Russians, like the daisies, wouldn't tell.

No one can account for the reversal completely, but a number of good reasons can be found, and of these the one most frequently cited is that the Russians realized they didn't have to pay. The Assembly reaction to the Stanleyville airlift had created an atmosphere in which the U.S. was not eager to test its strength. The longer the crisis was delayed, the more voters seemed to fall away from the U.S. side, causing considerable consternation and some second thoughts in Washington. And perhaps decisively, the Afro-Asian group, under the somewhat less than neutral guidance of Afganistan's Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, provided a "compromise" plan for the settlement of the debt that entirely upheld the Russian position, so that the Russians, while pushing even harsher demands, were in the happy position of being able to declare that they were willing to fall



back on the Afro-Asian proposal. Between the Assembly's desire to avoid a showdown and the widespread sense that a solution was imminent, the U.S. lost control of events entirely. Having chosen or been compelled to yield in rapid succession on the automaticity of Article 19, the necessity for a choice on opening day, its own right to know how much the Soviets intended to pay, and a host of lesser procedural points, it had seen its position and its credibility deteriorate to a point where its only choice was among ways to lose gracefully. Accordingly, by the time the U.S. went through the farce of permitting a "procedural" vote to be taken on the Albanian delegate's proposal without invoking Article 19, it was merely acknowledging that it had, as it were, already opted out.

What Next?

At the present time, a thirty-three member committee is presumably deliberating over a solution to the problems of past debts and future arrangements. In London Andrei Gromyko has made some ambiguous offers concerning an unknown amount of money to be forthcoming at some time or other. The effect of the whole episode on U.N. operations has been pronounced. The Congo forces have been withdrawn, partly for lack of funds. The Cyprus force, which is often cited as an example of how U.S.-Soviet co-operation in these matters can be achieved without the assistance of the Assembly, took three weeks to get into the field because of the need to make financial arrangements in advance, and the secretary-general has been passing the hat to keep it going ever since. Even those who are not overly enthusiastic about U.N. participation in these conflicts would be obliged to agree that there must be a more orderly and deliberate process for redefining and delimiting the Assembly's authority in these matters.

State Department officials maintain that they have not dropped their campaign to persuade member states of the importance of invoking the sanction (which now also applies to the French) should the delinquent members continue to hold out. Be all that as it may, the bare bones of the U.S. position—which are just about all that is left—seem well worth protecting: an emergency line to the Assembly to be kept open, a vestige of respect to be paid to the Charter principles, and an adjustment of the relationship of the Assembly and the Security Council that amounts to something more in keeping with the purposes of the U.N. than a political deal between the big powers.

For the time being, to judge from the survivalist school of thinking, the U.N. is out of danger. After the Albanian delegate's effort to disrupt the U.S.-Soviet understanding was defeated, the New York *Times* explained it all as evidence that "both Washington and Moscow wish to save the U.N." But since it is only a matter of time until the question of the U.N.'s survival will emerge from the present efforts to break the impasse, the patient's condition might as well be diagnosed: It seems to be suffering from nothing more or less serious than having been run over by a troika.

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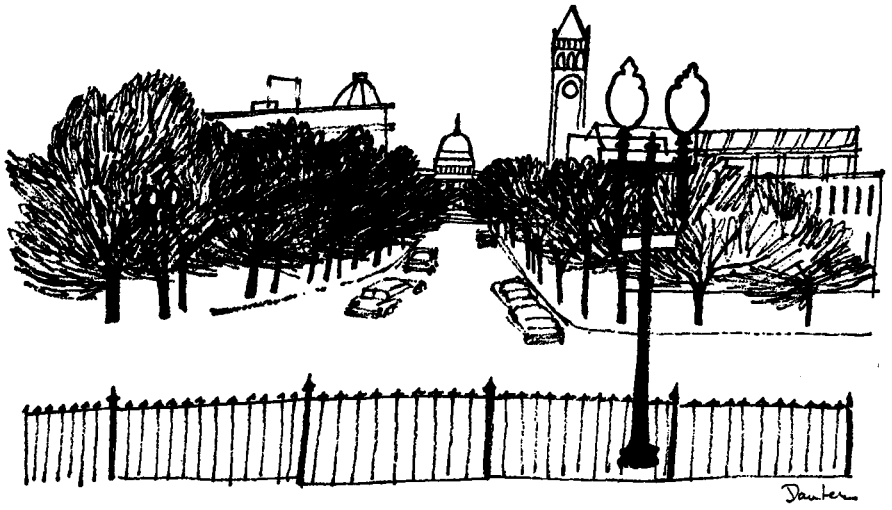

The Miami Super-Lobby

RICHARD HARWOOD

On January 4, the opening day of the Eighty-ninth Congress, Representative Claude D. Pepper of Miami handed the clerk of the House a bill "To provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Florida, and for other purposes." It was given a number, H.R. 30, and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. There it sits, a testimonial to one of the most intensive and imaginative lobbying operations Washington has witnessed in this decade.

Over the years, the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center—better known in government circles as Interama—has engaged the interest, energy, and political concern of Presidents, cabinet officers, and congressmen from fifty states. It has been the object of a prolonged internal debate by members of the White House staff, one of whom, Richard K. Donahue, has had a dual interest in the matter—a public interest as a Presidential assistant until 1963, and, more recently, a private one as a lobbyist engaged to ease Interama's way in Congress and within the administration.

Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey became an Interama missionary in the course of a bumpy helicopter ride over Miami Beach last spring. President Lyndon B. Johnson embraced the project one afternoon last fall in the East Room of the White House. The Commerce Department, the State Department, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency have been drawn into the affair. A sympathetic Congress has twice tailored laws to meet the needs of Interama lobbyists.

Such widespread interest at such high levels of the government is somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that there has been considerable confusion over what Interama is to be and why the Federal government should be involved in it. On one occasion it was promoted as a worthy project for a $50-million investment by the Alliance for Progress. On another it was presented as an "anti-poverty" program to be financed by the Area Redevelopment Administration. More recently it has been in the category of a "public works project" in which the Community Facilities Administration of HHFA has tentatively agreed to invest $22 million. Walt Disney envisions Interama as an East coast Disneyland with ideological overtones. Commercial promoters in Miami look on it as an economic catalyst that will add $1 billion a year to their revenue from tourists and create one hundred thousand new jobs.

The definitive description, however, comes from Dr. Irving E. Muskat who, if fortune holds and history is kind, will one day be known as the "Father of Interama." He sees, rising out of a former swamp that lies in view of the towering luxury hotels of Miami Beach, a $500-million permanent world's fair and exposition center—with a difference. The unifying theme—expressed in the architecture, the cultural facilities, and the exhibits—will be frankly ideological, portraying "the AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE—PROGRESS WITH FREEDOM" and showing "what the Americas [North and South] have achieved without the sacrifice of civil liberties and individual freedom—within the framework of democratic institutions." Thus, Interama is to be an instrument of American diplomacy, as well as a means of filling the cultural void in the lives of Miami's transient and permanent populations.

Dr. Muskat's Mud Flat

Muskat has devoted nearly eight years of his life to this dream. It has been a labor of love and has filled a void in his own career. His chemical discoveries as a teacher at the University of Chicago led him to abandon teaching for a career in industry. He moved to Miami in 1955, and in 1958 was appointed by Governor LeRoy Collins to serve as a member of the Interama Authority. Interama needed him, and three years later he was named chairman.

For more than forty years, merchants, innkeepers, and politicians in Miami had talked about an Inter-American trade center or merchandise mart but very little came of it. In the 1930's, a group of promoters set up a private corporation and tried to borrow capital for the project from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The government concluded that the project was largely a land-speculation scheme and the loan was disapproved. Political interest was revived during the Truman administration and a resolution was put through Congress giving an endorsement but no material aid to the trade-center concept. But the resolution did encourage the State

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of Florida to create, as a state agency, the Inter-American Center Authority, which in the mid-1950's tried unsuccessfully to interest investors in a permanent exposition center in Miami.

Muskat's first real accomplishment came in 1961 when he persuaded the City of Miami to turn over to the authority a 1,700-acre tract of swampland on Biscayne Bay, directly inland from the Miami Beach "Gold Coast." The city valued the land at $8.5 million, a sum that was to be repaid by the authority at an unspecified future time. With the land deed in his pocket, Muskat was in business. He arranged for the authority to issue $21 million in revenue bonds that were to be secured by a mortgage on the land and to be paid off—along with the $8.5 million debt to the city—out of revenues at the gate from the Interama exposition. Goodbody & Company of New York underwrote and sold $8 million of the bonds. The remaining $13 million is unsold.

With $8 million of capital, the authority drained and filled the Interama site and wound up with a piece of real estate valued at between $30 million and $40 million. The problem was that nobody with private capital wanted to sink money into the Interama exposition. So in 1962, Muskat and the other Interama promoters turned their attention to the Federal government.

One of their first acts was to hire at $1,200 a month a Washington lobbyist, Raymond M. Jacobson, a young lawyer active in Democratic politics. He shares office space with John J. Flynn, former legislative counsel to Hubert Humphrey, and had worked in the 1960 Democratic national campaign as an advance man for Lyndon Johnson. With Jacobson and members of the Florida congressional delegation paving the way—notably Pepper, Representative Dante B. Fascell, and Senator Spessard L. Holland, all Democrats—Muskat began a political odyssey that has taken him to the pinnacles of power in the Federal government.

In the summer of 1962, Muskat met with President John F. Kennedy at the White House where, for almost an hour, he held forth on Interama. Muskat had a very ambitious proposition. He wanted Kennedy to contribute $50 million to Interama out of Alliance for Progress funds to build pavilions and exhibit halls on the Interama site for all the nations of Latin America. He wanted an additional $25 million in the form of a direct appropriation from Congress for a U.S. government pavilion. The President, the White House later reported, was both skeptical and noncommital. He told Muskat to submit a formal proposal for the consideration of the State Department and the Bureau of International Business Operations of the Commerce Department.

Out of this meeting came an elaborate brochure. It contained a feasibility study that predicted fifteen million Interama visitors each year and revenues of such magnitude that within sixteen years the Interama Authority would have a surplus of $175 million on its hands. This document was examined by both State and Commerce Department officials. The State Department rejected out of hand the proposal to use funds of the Alliance for Progress. The Commerce Department, it was later revealed by the Budget Bureau, advised against any Federal investment in what appeared to be little more than an elaborate tourist attraction whose primary beneficiary would be the commercial community of Miami.

A Depressed Area

This became the White House position, and it was communicated to Muskat. It proved to be merely a temporary setback. Muskat was soon back with a new proposal. It involved a $26-million loan to Interama from the Area Redevelopment Administration, created in 1961 to combat unemployment and poverty in depressed areas through redevelopment loans and financing for public facilities. Muskat, accompanied by Pepper, Fascell, and Senator Holland, explored this new plan at a two-hour meeting at the White House on April 22, 1963. The administration was represented by Presidential assistant Myer Feldman and William D. Carey of the Budget Bureau. There was no official statement on the administration's attitude that day, but Feldman later said that his reaction was "positive." On the face of it, this might seem curious. In the first place, ARA had been given only $100 million in 1961 for public-facility loans for more than a thousand counties judged eligible for such aid. Interama wanted over a quarter of the total. Furthermore, Dade County, Florida, was not exactly a depressed area. In fact, it was quite ineligible for ARA help.

One of the principal Interama promoters has his own theory as to why the administration seemed to take a favorable view of the ARA proposition. "They were using us," he said recently. "By that time the ARA program was in trouble in Congress. The agency needed more money, and Kennedy didn't have the votes. He needed the Florida delegation, and one way to get them was to give them a stake in the bill." Whether or not this was the administration's strategy, it was a fact that in 1961 both Senators Holland and George A. Smathers of Florida had voted against the ARA bill, along with four of the eight House members from Florida.

It also was a fact that the attitude of the Florida delegation on the ARA issue changed markedly after Interama entered the picture. On June 26, 1963, Senators Holland and Smathers offered a small amendment to the pending ARA refinancing bill which provided that any area failing to meet the ARA eligibility requirements could nevertheless get ARA money if it contained, along with substantial unemployment, at least fifty thousand Cuban refugees. Only one country in the United States met that description—Dade County, Florida.

The Senate accepted the "Interama Amendment," Smathers and Holland voted for the ARA refinancing bill, and it passed. The next test would come in the House, where trouble was brewing.

Republican Representative Oliver P. Bolton of Ohio, who had followed the progress of the Interama amendment in the Senate, announced that he would oppose it in the House because he suspected that Interama would become a center for legalized gambling. Muskat quickly went to Washington for a conference with Bolton. They met in Bolton's office, and when they came out Muskat announced with a smile that hencefor-

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ward Bolton would be "a real friend of Interama." Bolton nodded his head. "That guy," he said of Muskat, "is a helluva salesman."

But neither Muskat nor White House aides could sell the House Rules Committee on Interama or on the need for new ARA funds. Accordingly, the bill died and the Interama scheme collapsed in the autumn of 1963.

BUT MUSKAT was unperturbed. Ten days before President Kennedy's assassination he was back in Washington with an entirely new scheme for financing Interama. By that time, he said, he had accepted the fact that without Federal money the Interama dream would never be realized. Only a large Federal investment would give private investors in this country and the governments of Latin America the assurances they required before making commitments to Interama. His new plan involved a $22-million public-facility loan from the Community Facilities Administration, which would be supplemented by a gift from Congress of $15 million to pay for a United States exhibit. The CFA money would finance the building to house the exhibit as well as the Latin American pavilions.

There was a problem, however, with CFA, just as there had been with the ARA. The public-facility loan program was started by the Eisenhower administration mainly to help finance water and sewer systems in small towns, and no community with a population of more than fifty thousand was eligible. This seemed to rule out Miami, which had a metropolitan population of more than a million.

There were a couple of other problems. Was Interama, with its Disneyland features, a "public facility" into which CFA could put money? In the past, CFA had been very restrictive in its definitions of "public facilities." About seventy-five per cent of the program's funds had been loaned for water and sewer projects, and ninety per cent of the projects had gone to towns of less than five thousand. There was also a question about the amount of the proposed Interama loan. Previous CFA public-facility loans had averaged $125,000, and the biggest on record was $9 million for a water distribution system to serve Ute, Colorado.

Sidney H. Woolner, who was the CFA commissioner at that time, pondered these matters for a long time. "I decided," he said, "that Interama probably qualified as a public facility. We had made other loans for public buildings. The amount of the loan was large but that was no disqualification. The real problem was over the population requirement in the law. That raised a lot of legal questions."

Putting the Arm on LBJ

Woolner didn't know it, but steps were under way to help resolve these

doubts. Humphrey, who was then majority whip in the Senate, was being drawn into the matter. So were President Johnson, the Congress, and members of the cabinet.

The push began early in 1964. On February 27, President Johnson flew to Miami for a fund-raising dinner. This was an opportunity the Interama promoters were determined to exploit. Representative Pepper was aboard the Presidential plane when it landed in Miami, and he was aboard the Presidential helicopter when it took off from the airport to deliver Johnson to his hotel. Pepper saw to it that the helicopter detoured to the Interama site and, as they hovered over it, he gave the President a full-blown pep talk.

Within a week after Johnson's visit to Miami, Muskat, Pepper, Fascell, and Senator Holland were back at the White House. This time they had a new recruit, Senator Smathers, who had previously taken only a passing interest in the problem. The delegation sat down with Feldman and Presidential assistant Bill D. Moyers for forty-five minutes. There were no commitments at this meeting, but Muskat and Pepper detected a somewhat warmer atmosphere.

In the meantime, Senator Humphrey was beginning to develop an interest in Interama. On April 29, he showed up in Miami for a helicopter tour of the Interama site with Mrs. Humphrey, Pepper, and Muskat. The view from the air and the persuasive fervor of Pepper and Muskat had an effect. Upon landing Humphrey held a press conference and gave an account of his airborne conversation with Pepper:

"Take the whole delegation to see him [President Johnson]," Humphrey advised. "Get a half hour. Insist on it. Call on him yourself, Claude. Put your arm on him good. He'll do it. I suggest you just raise the dickens about it and you'll get your money. Just keep pounding away at it."

The advice was heeded. Pepper was hardly back in Washington before lobbyist Jacobson was walking the corridors of Congress soliciting signatures on a petition to the President of the United States requesting that " . . . the President approve as a policy decision a Public Facilities Loan in the amount of $18,500,000 from the Community Facilities Administration . . . to the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center of Miami, Florida. . . ." By the middle of August, Jacobson had collected more than 260 signatures on the petition, including fifty-one senators. Every state in the union was represented.

A Political Partnership

As the petition grew longer and longer, Holland was busy in the Senate removing any legal barriers that might block the CFA loan. On July 31, the Senate took up the administration's ominibus housing bill which contained funds for CFA. In the middle ot the debate, Holland engaged in a discussion on the floor with Senator John J. Sparkman (D.,

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Alabama), the principal sponsor of the bill. They established in a colloquy that filled close to a full page of the *Congressional Record* that Interama would be eligible for a CFA public-facility loan. According to a source who knew the facts, the points they raised had been suggested by Jacobson. The housing bill passed, and on August 13, the House also approved it.

A week later a meeting was held in Senator Holland's office. The participants were Holland, Pepper, Fascell, Muskat, and a guest of honor —Clarence H. Osthagen, the new commissioner of CFA, who had been on the job only a week. Osthagen assured his hosts that he would give his "personal attention" to the Interama loan application, which his predecessor, Woolner, had worried over for nine months.

One of the congressmen came out of the meeting to declare, off the record: "We got a new broom over there [at CFA] and started sweeping right away." Pepper was so encouraged that he announced that "We may not have to go to the White House now, since we're doing so well in the agency [CFA]. I may not turn in the petition at all, unless some hitch develops."

A hitch did develop. On September 13, Budget Director Kermit Gordon submitted a confidential memorandum on Interama to Walter Jenkins, who was then President Johnson's chief assistant. Gordon was skeptical of the Interama plan. But the 1964 political campaign was already under way, and one of Vice-Presidential candidate Humphrey's first stops was Florida. On September 18 in Miami, Humphrey made a political commitment to Interama.

"This project," he said, "represents the kind of partnership I have been talking about . . . a partnership with government and industry and private capital. . . . I have a feeling that in next year's budget, you will find that the Johnson-Humphrey administration is strongly in support of it—not just by word, but by deed."

By this time, Interama's chief lobbyist, Jacobson, had become Humphrey's advance man for the campaign—scheduling speeches, arranging for hotel accommodations, and lining up meetings with local political figures. By this time, too, the administration was decidedly interested in Interama. On October 13, Johnson received at the White House a large delegation of Interama promoters. They included the usual congressmen and senators, accompanied by Muskat, Haydon Burns, the Democratic nominee for governor of Florida, and McGregor Smith, president of the Florida Power and Light Company. The President took them to the East Room for the discussion. Later they moved to the Blue Room for drinks and more conversation. During their talks, the President told his visitors:

"If I had to say today—but I don't want to, today—I would ask the Community Facilities Administration to give their sympathetic consideration to your request. I probably will do that later in the week, but I want to consult with one cabinet officer first."

IT IS RARE, to say the least, for a President to make a public statement on a loan application pending before a Federal agency. On the other hand, it is even more unusual to find the signatures of over 260 congressmen on a public petition concerning a CFA loan.

These extraordinary pressures had an understandable effect on the agency involved. Milton Semer, deputy administrator of HHFA, announced on October 23: "So far as we're concerned—and that's within the confines of the public-facilities loan program—I can say flatly that the loan will be approved." In the light of subsequent events, Semer's optimistic statement would prove somewhat premature.

In any event, by late October Interama seemed to be on the brink of victory in its long and frustrating fight for money from the Federal treasury. President Johnson looked with increasing favor on the project, and during his last campaign swing through Florida—just nine days before the election—made another public statement. After a speech in Miami on October 25, Johnson attended a small party given by the Interama promoters in the Terrace Room of the DuPont Plaza Hotel. He was presented with a handsome souvenir volume that related the Interama story. He expressed his thanks and added: "I know the deep interest that each of you have taken. . . . I am happy that it seems to be on the way to a favorable solution. Claude Pepper talks to me about it every day, and I am going to have a little more time now to do something else. . . . I think this is not only going to be a wonderful thing for the United States government, and all the western hemisphere, but I think it will be a great thing for the progressive and forward-looking state of Florida."

With the Democratic victory on November 4, the matter was apparently settled. The contract for the CFA loan still had not been signed but, as Pepper said that fall, "All this is the haggling of lawyers over details of a contract after the principals have been told to sign it."

A Name on the Door

Meanwhile, a personnel problem involving lobbyist Jacobson had arisen. Though his contributions to the Interama blitz had been considerable, his absence from Washington as Humphrey's assistant was unsatisfactory to Muskat; on December 4 he announced that Jacobson had been replaced by Richard K. Donahue, who also had excellent political credentials.

Donahue was one of President Kennedy's favorites and was a member of the so-called "Irish Mafia" at the White House, where he had worked on Lawrence F. O'Brien's staff of congressional lobbyists. But his selection as the new Interama lobbyist had no political implications, Muskat told the Miami *Herald*. Donahue's job, he explained, would be to lobby in Congress for a direct appropriation to finance a U.S. exhibit at the Interama site.

Donahue's employment brought into the picture an organization that could boast of impressive connections with the managers of the national Democratic party—Joseph Napolitan Associates, Inc., of Springfield, Massachusetts. The Napolitan specialty is campaign management and political public relations. Chief White House lobbyist O'Brien was a Napolitan vice-president before joining Kennedy's staff. The company has conducted polls and filled other political assignments for the Democratic National Committee; in

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1962 it managed successful campaigns for Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota, Senator Thomas J. McIntyre of New Hampshire, and former Governor Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts. More recently, it has opened a public relations office in London to handle, among other things, British election campaigns. The relationship between Donahue and Napolitan Associates is best described as officially unofficial: though Donahue's name is on the door of Napolitan's Washington office, he is not a member of the firm.

When Donahue got the Interama contract, he hired Napolitan Associates to assist him. Napolitan's Washington office, which is run by Mrs. Caryl Conner, was given the assignment of working on Interama problems with Federal agencies other than the CFA and was also directed to line up support for Interama among the members of the Organization of American States.

"We do no lobbying," says Mrs. Conner. "And so far as I know, Dick Donahue is not lobbying, either. He was hired to work on the CFA loan as a lawyer for Interama."

Donahue's contract was, in fact, more demanding than that. It provided for him to bring his influence to bear across the whole range of the Federal bureaucracy and, when H.R. 30 was in a position to move, he was to turn his attention to the Congress. He says there has been no reason yet for him to register as a lobbyist with the clerk of the House, that he hasn't been concerned with Congress up to this point, and that when and if his attention is focused on the legislative process he will sign up like any other lobbyist.

In any event, shortly after his employment, Donahue entered the negotiations with CFA. "He helped us on some important legal questions," said Richard L. Still, the CFA chief counsel. "He made a real contribution."

By the end of January, CFA was sufficiently satisfied with the Interama proposition that it announced its approval of a $22-million loan "to aid construction of exhibit pavilions at Miami, Florida, for a permanent international exposition. . . . "

This seemed to clinch the matter. Muskat interpreted the announcement to mean that Interama, in effect, had another $22 million in the bank. He moved ahead swiftly, traveling to Latin America to promote the project, and recently hired six prominent architects to design the international area pavilions. They included Marcel Breuer and Edward Durrell Stone.

BUT CFA was not ready to turn loose any money. As Still explained it: "Several things have got to happen before we put any money into this project. The feasibility of Interama must be certified by a management consultant Interama will hire with our approval. He is going to have to show us contractual commitments for private investment in Interama. Then Goodbody [the New York underwriters] is going to have to sell the remaining $13 million in bonds which Interama hasn't issued yet. After all this is done, we make our loan. We go when the whole works goes, not before."

None of these things has happened, and the Treasury still has its $22 million. In the meantime, Muskat, Napolitan Associates, Donahue, Pepper, and the whole cast of characters in the Interama story are busy. H.R. 30 must be passed. The State Department is being urged to create an "Interama Desk" to handle the international ramifications of the project. The Commerce Department is being pushed to give its blessing to Interama as a world's fair eligible for U.S. support. Walt Disney's possible role as an Interama investor must be explored. Enthusiasm must be generated in Latin America.

There is obviously much to be done because, as Muskat said last month: "We are going to open Interama at 10 o'clock on the morning of December 1, 1967." That's only 938 days from now.

Permissive Planning And the French Economy

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

"THE ESSENTIAL AIM of our fifth four-year plan is to assure expansion with stability and full employment," Pierre Massé, the distinguished civil servant who has headed France's Commissariat Général du Plan d'Equipment et de la Productivité since 1959, declared recently. To most Americans, Massé's definition of his objectives sounds innocuous enough. The precedence given to expansion over stability, however, and the stress on full employment—relatively unfamiliar in a country which until a few months ago suffered from a chronic shortage of labor—started French economic journalists off on a round of speculation and controversy. This became more lively when it was learned that Massé had been unexpectedly received by President Charles de Gaulle in the presence of Premier Georges Pompidou and Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, shortly after which the left-wing weekly *Nouvel Observateur* reported that Massé was threatening to resign his post a few months ahead of schedule as a protest against the government's economic policy, notably its eighteen-month-old anti-inflationary stabilization program.

There is always a certain amount of tugging and pulling between conflicting interests and divergent economic doctrines whenever, as now, a new French four-year plan is being debated. (The Fourth Plan officially terminates at the end of this year.) A public break between the nation's chief planner and his government would be something new, however. While there is no convincing evidence that Massé's qualms about official policy really go that far, it is apparent that the normal difficulties of developing and applying the Plan are being aggravated by a number of factors. The most significant of these seem to be the threat of a recession in France—though Giscard

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d'Estaing maintains that this winter's mild slump is now over; the rivalry between the Gaullist premier and his brilliant, ambitious young finance minister, a mere fellow-traveler of Gaullism; the pressures on both from the super-Gaullist doctrinairians; de Gaulle's own offensive against American investments in France—including his tilt with the dollar; and the problem of integrating the hybrid or semi-socialist French economy into the largely free-enterprise framework of the European Economic Community. It is not only the objectives of the Fifth Plan that seem to be in question, but the whole concept of flexible economic planning as it has functioned in France till now.

At the core of the unique French economic planning system is the staff headed by Massé. It was set up, unofficially at first, in 1945 in the months of innovation that followed the Liberation to help get France back on its feet as a modern industrial nation. From the beginning the Commissariat Général was indelibly marked by the dramatic scope of the challenge that confronted it, as well as by the dynamic personality of its first director, Jean Monnet. The vital need of the early postwar era—when France's industrial output was less than half of what it had been in 1913—was to raise productivity as fast and as high as possible. Encouraged by the apparent success of the first plan—eventually stretched to 1953—the planners have continued to think essentially in expansionist terms. Stability as such is not enough for them. The French planning machine was built for speed; it does not seem to idle smoothly.

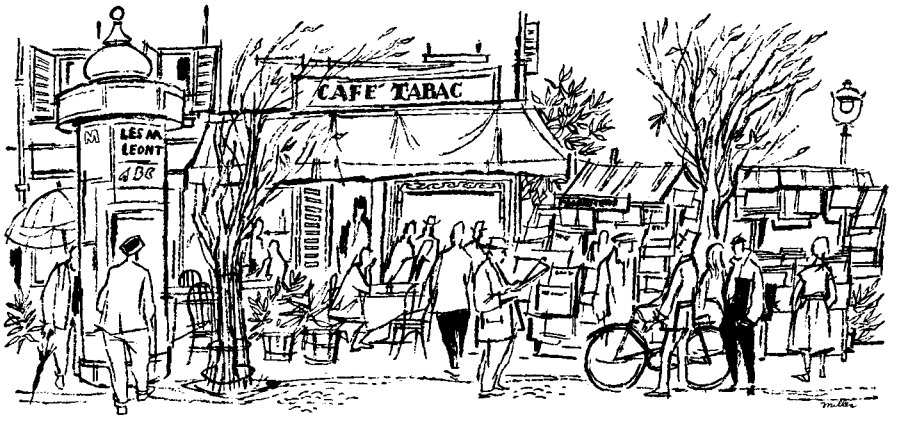
Gaining a Consensus

Despite its absorption in 1958 of the closely related Commissariat for Productivity, the General Commissariat for Planning has steadfastly resisted the temptations of bureaucratic empire-building. Housed in a modest three-story building on the Rue Martignac, its professional staff is limited to some forty planners.

Monnet, the intellectual father of the Plan, wanted the members of his staff to be catalysts rather than commissars. In the Monnet philosophy the only kind of planning compatible with a democratic society is planning by consensus. "The spirit of the Plan," Massé once explained in a magazine article, "is to aim at a concert of all the economic and social forces of the Nation. Jean Monnet was the first to employ the expression 'concerted economy' which has recently become fashionable. He realized that the Plan could only succeed if all Frenchmen were directly or indirectly involved in its elaboration."

In a formal sense, Monnet's doctrine of the necessity for participation by the whole nation in drawing up the Plan is carried out by submitting a draft of the document to the Economic and Social Council for comment and then to the National Assembly for final adoption. (Last fall the government innovated by presenting the Fifth Plan to the assembly for preliminary approval of its broad objectives.) The Plan rarely gets the close parliamentary scrutiny that the budget does, however, possibly because the goals and policies it stipulates remain for the most part voluntary. Before its presentation to the government itself, the Plan is given a more searching scrutiny by the High Planning Council—an advisory and supervisory board headed by the premier and including representatives of labor, private management, the regional economic expansion committees, and other special interests or specialized organisms. But the most significant phases in the process of achieving a national economic consensus probably occur during working-level committee meetings, unobtrusively stimulated or co-ordinated by Massé's staff of planners.

The first stage of the planning cycle—which may begin as much as three years before the starting date of the plan itself—is purely bureaucratic. It consists of a series of informal conferences between the Commissariat's experts and those of the Economic and Financial Research Service of the Ministry of Finance. The end-product of these consultations is a jointly accepted general analysis of the nation's economic outlook, with emphasis on middle- and long-term forecasts, some of which look ahead as far as twelve years. These provisional projections are based on different rates of growth in the national product, calculated to be within the range of possibility during the period of the Plan, and, in effect, amount to an implicit recommendation as to the maximum expansion compatible with the nation's economic equilibrium. Higher and lower levels of growth are usually postulated as alternatives, however, and it is for the supreme national political authority



—the government and parliament—to choose between them.

As the basic objective of the Fifth Plan, the government last fall adopted an annual growth rate of five per cent during the period 1966-1970 (against five and a half per cent during the previous four years). Giscard d'Estaing was reported to feel that to conjure away the menace of inflation, a rate of four and a half per cent or even four per cent would have been preferable, but he did not openly attack the Commissariat's more ambitious recommendation. Normally, the government, after making a tentative decision on the overall growth-rate to be sought, submits the Commissariat's alternatives to the Economic and Social

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Council for advice before finally committing itself.

DETAILED planning begins when the government informs the Commissariat of its final decision on the growth rate and sets up a number of so-called modernization committees to work with it on the draft Plan. The committees include, along with officials of the several ministries or other government organisms concerned, representatives of labor and management. Executives of the great nationalized industries—the gas and electric industry, the railroads, the coal mines, the Renault automobile works, the state-controlled banks, etc. —naturally play a key role on the committees, and so do many representatives of free enterprise and experts from the academic world. All the nongovernmental members serve as consultants without pay.

No less than twenty-four modernization committees, each dealing with a particular section of the national economy, contributed to framing the Fourth Plan. Their membership totaled more than one thousand, of whom only 202 were civil servants. The committees are free to set up subcommittees or working groups and to call in advisors as they think necessary; there were some two thousand of these co-opted helpers working on the Fourth Plan. To a considerable degree the detailed goals of French economic planning are developed by the branches of the industry concerned, with a minimum of governmental intervention.

In some ways the process recalls certain theories of the corporate state developed in the early days of Fascism, though in the mind of its founding father the example of the New Deal NRA was probably the great influence. The relative success during the 1930's of the Soviet five-year plans also helped shape Monnet's concept. As it was originally put into execution—and as it largely remains today—French economic planning is not only considerably decentralized and de-bureaucratized but its recommendations are indicative rather than imperative.

" . . . the Plan is above all an enumeration of possibilities," remarked Jean Fourastié and J. P. Courthéoux, authors of a thoughtful recent study. "When, for example, the Plan foresees that 'X' tons of coal or 'Y' tons of steel will be produced in 1965, these quotas are not binding on anyone, not even on the civil servant whom the Government has placed at the head of the nationalized coal mines. The Plan is not a directive to produce coal or steel; it is an informative statement about the levels of production that seem possible and desirable within the framework of the normal overall national expansion . . .[it] tells producers that if they actually achieve these levels of production they will find a market for their output."

The Skillful Use of Skills

It might seem remarkable that such flexible and permissive planning attains its major goals, as the French four-year plans generally appear to do. (A minority of skeptics does, in fact, question their effectiveness.) One reason is the abundance of statistical information available to the planners—after all, the French government has been collecting economic data since at least the age of Philippe le Bel, and while the French peasant and the French businessman have developed over the centuries sophisticated techniques for evading official curiosity about their activities, French bureaucracy has evolved no less sophisticated techniques for interpreting the evasions. Of particular importance for both the elaboration and the implementation of the Plan are the reports or studies of the Commission for Economic Accounts and Budgets of the Nation, a unique and admirable government economic research bureau which promptly flags any discrepancies that may arise between the Plan's medium-term goals or forecasts and the actual trend of the national economy, thus making it possible to take corrective steps.

Another closely allied factor in the success of French planning is the high quality of French economic forecasting, both official and academic, though recent developments indicate that it is by no means infallible. The Commissariat has no extensive forecasting staff of its own; it farms out complex problems to specialized private or governmental research services, and its planners have developed to a rare degree the skill of using expert skills. They rely heavily on the work done for them by the Committee for Research, Study, and Documentation on Consumption, a semiofficial scholarly organism that both serves the direct needs of the planners and helps educate the business community in France by publishing many of the studies it carries out for the Commissariat. The educational impact of French planning, especially on the businessmen or other nongovernmental advisors who participate in it, is stressed by students as still another reason for its effectiveness. The modernization committees and their working-groups are at the same time seminars in economic theory and applied sociology which, as Fourastié and Courthéoux put it, oblige the participants "to study the future and to reflect upon it."

No doubt, too, as David Granick points out in *The European Executive,* the fact that an ever-increasing proportion of executives in French industry, including private industry, have become planners after a term of government service, or at least have graduated from the same *grandes écoles* that produce the nation's top-drawer technocrats, facilitates communication between the bureaucracy and industry, and thus contributes to acceptance of the planning principle in the private enterprise sector. So, also, does the intellectual prestige of the Commissariat staff, which, since the era of Monnet, has been considered a prize assignment, attracting a super-élite of technocrats.

Indeed, though the Commissariat gets an occasional ricochet from *anti-dirigiste* broadsides, relations are remarkably good between its staff members and the private businessmen with whom they come in professional contact. They are likely to improve still further since the publication of the draft of the Fifth Plan which, despite its increased emphasis on "social" investments like schools, was denounced as "capitalistic" by left-wing labor spokesmen, while it was commended by the conservative *Berliner Handels Gesellschaft* for its "pragmatism" and the enlarged scope it allots to private enterprise. This, as the Germans see it, will result in stimulating competition within France itself, and above all within the European Eco-

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nomic Community, a feature that disturbs certain doctrinaire French economists, whether Gaullist or Socialist.

Growth vs. Stability

The basic conflict over the Fifth Plan has been—and continues to be—between the planners of the Commissariat and some of their fellow technocrats, notably the brain trust in the Finance Ministry that advises Giscard d'Estaing on his deflationary stabilization program, which in recent months has brought industrial expansion in some sectors almost to a halt. In a penetrating analysis of the Plan last October, Raymond Aron pointed out in *Le Figaro* that there was almost an outright contradiction between its expansionist objectives and those of the stabilization program. The threat to expansion, Aron warned, was all the greater because, while the rise in living costs had exceeded the Fourth Plan's forecasts in 1963 and 1964, productive investments had fallen behind "both expectations and needs."

Various critics of the stabilization program have likewise called attention to the danger that the latest Gaullist campaigns against American investments, along with Gaullist attacks on the dollar as an international reserve currency and the defensive measures they have provoked from Washington, will aggravate the squeeze on productive investment inherent in the program.

Nearly six months later, a leading Gaullist economist, Albin Chalandon, identified with the liberal wing of the *Union Pour La Nouvelle République* (UNR), backed up Aron's thesis with a front-page article in *Le Figaro* scouting the danger of an early recession but admitting there were grounds for long-term concern over the ability of French industry to keep pace with the growth of European and American competitors. Voicing the expansionist philosophy of the Commissariat and other progressive French economic circles, Chalandon said French industrialists, harassed by government restrictions, were not making adequate investments for growth. "The government's present attitude," Chalandon declared, "consists simply in establishing a stable economic framework in which industry can become aware of its own inadequacies, without doing anything to help it. This is not enough.

"The aim of economic policy should be growth and not stability," a noted economic journalist, Roger Priouret, declared in an open letter to Giscard d'Estaing, published by the weekly *France-Dimanche*. "Johnson's 'Great Society' is a growth-objective. Erhard's economic liberalism in Germany has growth as its goal. . . . In talking of stability, you appeal to a French trait. It has its tradition . . . [that of] Thiers, Meline. . . . Your 'stability' is the strategy of the Maginot Line."

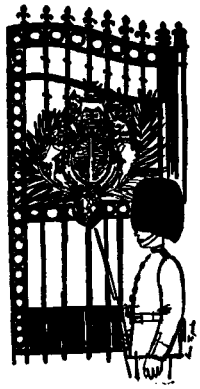
"There is no contradiction between stability and expansion," Giscard d'Estaing retorted in a letter to the same journal the following week. "As has been demonstrated by countries as different as Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland, stability has become the precondition to a regular expansion."

The finance minister's protestations derived some credibility from the fact that, only a few days before, the Bank of France at his instigation had lowered its rediscount rate from four per cent to three and a half per cent, a step that economists throughout the West generally hailed as reflecting both a real determination to resist the stagnation that cursed the French economy during much of the early twentieth century, and a heartening degree of readiness to co-operate with France's partners in maintaining international monetary stability.

Perhaps the most judicious comment on the continuing debate over the goals of French planning and French economic policy generally is that said to have been delivered recently—though in a slightly different context—by a minor French poet and anthologist, better known to the general public as a banker and politician, Premier Georges Pompidou: "France is a country of extremists which can only survive by finding middle-of-the-road solutions to its problems—a political régime halfway between the Elysée and Parliament, an economic system that is neither pure capitalism nor generalized socialism."

James Crow, Esq., Comes to Britain

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE



LONDON

BRITAIN has a nonwhite population of more than a million but no fulltime nonwhite policemen; billboards throughout the London area advertise the "Black and White Minstrels," an all-white stage and TV show in which half the members of the cast shuffle around in blackface with clown-size white lips; when distinguished African visitors signal a taxi, the driver may snarl, "I don't take your lot"; everything from boot polish to cashmeres is available in "nigger brown." But the country is so insensitive to the inroads of racial prejudice that the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), headed by David Pitt, a Trinidad physician, hardly knows where to start.

"Any hope that Britain might prove to be immune to color prejudice has disappeared," an editorial in the London *Observer* commented recently. The mention of hope was an oblique reference to the prewar days when prejudice, where it existed, was low-keyed and, in opposition to Nazi racism, was officially "un-British." But the late Malcolm X, during his BBC-sponsored tour of the Smethwick ghetto in February, noted that Britain had no right to

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criticize the treatment of U.S. Negroes. James Baldwin went further: he reminded a television audience here that it was the British who carried racism to America; that if prejudice is worse in Mississippi than in Minnesota, it is partly because Southern whites are almost exclusively of British stock.

A Preference for Hypocrisy

Before the Second World War, nonwhites were a largely middle- or upper-class group—students, businessmen, tycoons, princelings—and hence largely protected from the current bias that is mainly the result of Britain's postwar social revolution and the gradual disappearance of the rigid class structure. For centuries, Britain's "working man" could find excuse for his failures in the immutability of his lowly station. He resented some aspects of the class system, but it exempted him from the need to compete. Today, with class mobility and more sensible class values, peers have become a joke, BBC announcers speak Lancashire or cockney with impunity, and a successful grocer is more admired than an officer in the Guards. Only the public school (the British term for a private residential school) still gives mandarin children a head start over the brilliant poor in the struggle for a university education. In this situation, the unintelligent or unambitious majority of born-poor are shown to be failures by right, not by class. Britain's urban working- and lower-middle-income classes—the most unashamedly "Nazi" in their racial attitudes—have tended to grasp at racism as a means of replacing "class" with a caste system based on color, in which they would be Brahmins forever.

There is no apparent discrimination at the Park Lane's Dorchester Hotel; but in the greasyspoon pubs known here as "fleapits" or "thieves' kitchens" one often hears that "Hitler was right," and knives sometimes flash in drunken Friday-night flare-ups between the races. In interracial slums, there is jealousy of the newcomers' greater thrift and industry. "The first-car-ever on the block is invariably at the West Indian's house," says a social worker—a fact that irritates the dole-minded Andy Capps. But, graffiti apart, the British tendency to practice racism without voicing it too openly—thus inhibiting the modest but growing campaign to eradicate it—is quite familiar to the British colony-educated nonwhites here, who seem to prefer hypocrisy to open friction.

The most tolerant areas of Britain, in contrast with the United States, are the poor, rural districts where all strangers are seen as equally queer, but where at least dark strangers are, according to superstition, considered omens of good luck. Similar beliefs were once held in the cities: Ghana's Dr. Seth Cudjoe, who practiced for thirteen years in the seamy Shepherd's Bush section of London, remembers gnarled crones asking him to "Lay yer dark 'ands on me rheumatism, doctor."

THE NONWHITE constitute two per cent of Britain's population; most have immigrated to Britain since 1950. As Commonwealth citizens, they have the vote after six months' residence, although half fail to use it. There are, in all, about 660,000 West Indians, 535,000 Pakistanis, Indians, and Chinese, and 55,000 other nonwhites.

London's transportation system and the National Health program would barely function without these dark-skinned Britons. In certain areas of London, more than half the hospital nurses are West Indians. The *Times* reports that forty per cent of all hospital doctors up to the consultant level in Britain are from the Commonwealth—mostly India and Pakistan. In addition, many smaller but key industries, particularly in London and the industrial midlands, are dependent on a continued flow of new migrants. Thus Britain is heavily dependent on its new inhabitants, though a depression would be sure to intensify racial friction by creating a contest for jobs.

Because those least acculturated to western life and British weather were a source of genuine social problems, a badly written statute, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, now in effect limits nonwhite immigration to less than sixty thousand a year. Still the ghettos grow. Multiracial lodging houses are rare; a house is almost invariably white or "colored," and the vagaries of landlords and especially landladies are difficult to deal with. Turning a slum into a ghetto is a lucrative operation, known as Rachmanism after the late notorious Peter Rachman, who helped build a sharking empire by encouraging Pakistanis to urinate in the corridors of tenements, thus driving out low-paying white tenants. Now nonwhites are beginning to buy, as well as rent, at higher prices as a result of restrictive covenants in bills of sale—a new, twilight feature of conveyancing which, however, will not hold up in British courts.

The Missing Marchers

The modest reform movement now in existence is organized largely by Pitt's CARD. To this are affiliated the West Indian, Pakistani, and Indian federations that are made up of scores of local associations. Their main grievances are the job ceiling and the ghetto system. The ceiling for nonwhites in London is about the same as for Negroes in Memphis, Tennessee. Nonwhite youths are rarely able to get apprenticed in skilled trades. "The colored Briton's worst enemy is the union," admits one Barbadian organizer. Even the selling of jobs, hitherto almost unknown, has started.

Of the three major nonwhite groups, the most difficult to assimilate have been the Indians and Pakistanis. The West Indians are English by language, religion, and tradition. They are unmistakably English-provincial in their modes of thought and expression. But working-class Asians, at least in the present generation, actively shun cultural

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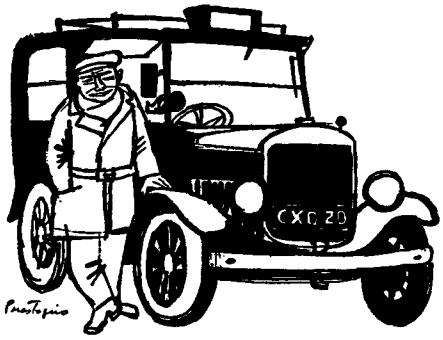
assimilation. Almost everyone involved, including white sociologists, would probably be satisfied at this point to get "separate but equal" facilities for Asians, and equal and integrated facilities for West Indians.

But it is very difficult to arouse public support for the reform movement, representing as it currently does such a small portion of the population. The British daily press, except for the *Guardian,* has either ignored all but the sensational aspects of the issue or, in the case of the *Times,* made a lengthy, low-keyed investigation. Of the weeklies, only the Sunday *Observer* has grasped the nettle. Television has given the situation tabloid treatment. And in contrast with the priests, pastors, and rabbis of the Selma march, British religious leaders have tended to ignore the problem of prejudice. Their participation would help, but given the paucity of British church attendance, they could have nothing like the influence of their brethren in America. There is also fear that the "bearded weirdies," of the "unilateral disarmament" fringe may predominate among white participants, thus frightening away responsible citizens and branding civil rights as "cranky."

THE FEW SPOKESMEN for reform, like the *Observer,* look to the United States, and particularly to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, for advice. However, there is an important difference between Jim Crow in Britain and its counterpart in America. In the United States the Negro knows that Federal authority is on his side. The laws oppose his persecution; both major political parties are committed to erasing the injustices caused by prejudice. In Britain, the nonwhite is convinced that he is a political nuisance to both parties. Both wish prejudice would go away, but clearly neither has exhibited much enthusiasm for taking the legislative steps which would officially make racism disreputable.

Ostensibly—and to some extent, genuinely—the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was written to prevent unemployment and ease housing pressures. But it was also partly introduced to satisfy the racial emotions of voters in both parties: because it was a Conservative measure, it attracted some prospective Labour support to the Tories. Lately Conservative candidates have injected the prejudice issue—called the "color problem"—into every by-election campaign. After Patrick Gordon Walker, Labour's prospective foreign secretary, and two other "safe" party candidates had been defeated by this questionable device in the general election, morals were thrown to the winds. Literally every Tory campaign since, including the by-election defeat of Gordon Walker, has contained a version of the Neanderthal cry of Peter Griffiths' agents at Smethwick: "If you want a nigger neighbor, vote Labour."

Reform is of no value to either party at the polls, whereas racism pays. The only places in which the nonwhite Britons' vote is large enough to count are those which are safely Labour anyway; hence, a definite reform policy would cost La-



bour white votes without winning more nonwhite votes than the party already has. Labour has appealed in vain for a bipartisan approach, not only to prevent the issue from becoming worse and ultimately creating a problem in Afro-Asian relations but also so as not to take the "blame" for reform.

AFTER rejecting a stronger draft at a party executive meeting in March, the Labour government has just introduced a Race Relations Bill that makes public incitement to racial hatred (but not to racial contempt) a criminal offense and opens "places of public resort" to all races. The bill, which the Tories will try to weaken further, ignores child-apprenticeship, job and promotion discrimination—a concession to the lilywhite unions that are Labour's strongest support—and the ghetto problem, except to forbid restrictive subtenancy clauses. To move into a "nice" block, a dark-skinned British family must find a white man who will be legally responsible for the rent, municipal taxes, and so on, and will then sublet the place to his friend from Pakistan or Jamaica without profit.

The Labour proposal has been described and attacked by many advocates of reform as an unsatisfactory political compromise. The *Observer,* for instance, insists that the American experience shows that disfavored minorities "cannot get equal treatment" unless they are first "specially favored." The paper asks for "positive discrimination" in favor of the minorities in city housing, job training, and accelerated education programs for children from backward tropical schools, even if these measures cause some initial friction. Minority leaders themselves now look less to the disappointing House of Commons and local authorities and more to their own people. Faced with discrimination in bank loans and insurance, some reform leaders favor community action, such as emulating late-nineteenth century Negro Americans in founding banking, mortgage, insurance, and credit unions.

The other reaction of the dark Britons, also borrowed from the United States, is the decision to hold demonstrations this summer, beginning with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference in June. Press photos of racist counter-action—or just of bobbies dragging pickets away—might exert the sort of pressure on Downing Street that Selma had on the White House. The reputation of the British in Afro-Asia, particularly in the Commonwealth, is undoubtedly the nonwhite Britons strongest weapon. And since the avowed purpose of introducing the Race Relations Bill was to convince the Commonwealth prime ministers that the Labour government was making progress in outlawing discrimination, the presence of pickets at the conference would emphasize the need for an official moral commitment in combating racial prejudice, something that now appears totally lacking from either of Britain's major political parties.

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India's Linguistic Dilemma

SUNDAR RAJAN

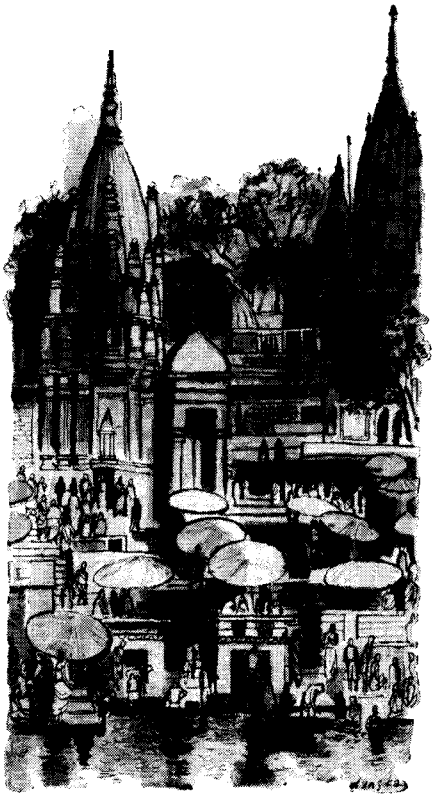
BOMBAY

THE DECISION to make Hindi the sole official language of India by January 26, 1965 was made when Nehru was alive. But most Indians think that under Nehru's leadership the inevitable arrival of that date would not have provoked the crisis that has erupted under his successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri. The late prime minister was not a great administrator, but he knew how to utilize his tremendous personal prestige to keep extremists, factionalists, and regional leaders in check. Nehru also realized that there was no easy solution to the problem of forcing a common language on a diverse and polyglot society. Shrewdly, he took the position that while Hindi, the language of the North, was best fitted to become the government language, the process would have to be slow and evolutionary. The non-Hindi nationalities were promised that they, not the Hindi-speaking people, would decide when and how the conversion to Hindi should take place. Meanwhile, English would remain the second official language. Though criticized by northern politicians as vague, evasive, and defeatist, Nehru's approach was a wise concession to India's linguistic realities. According to the official Linguistic Survey, Indians speak 1,652 dialects, eighty-seven per cent of which are covered by the fourteen major languages recognized by the constitution. Hindi, the *de jure* federal official language, is itself based on 190 dialects.

Only eleven of the fifty-three ministers in the Shastri government speak and write Hindi. The bulk of the federal government's four million employees cannot either read or write the language. Thus it was generally assumed that nothing drastic, linguistically, was being contemplated by the Shastri administration. However, southern suspicions were aroused last year when some key Hindi-speaking officials in New Delhi, encouraged by zealots in the ruling party, began issuing circulars without Shastri's knowledge calling for an accelerated shift to Hindi in administrative work. The official Press Information Bureau and the state-owned broadcasting network, again without the approval of Information Minister Indira Gandhi, mounted a publicity drive to convince the people that even the Indian Army, for decades a model of linguistic and racial coexistence, was being rapidly Hindiized.

The Hindi Demon

Then, the day before Republic Day, the chief minister of Madras State ordered the arrest of nearly a thousand members of the League for the Advancement of Dravidian Nationalities, a militant Tamil party. The league had called upon the thirty million Tamils of southern India to observe Republic Day as a "Day of Mourning" to signify their protest against "Hindi imperialism." When two Tamil youths immolated themselves in Vietnamese style and college and school students in Madras staged mammoth protest strikes,



Shastri went on the air with an appeal for calm. He insisted that the January 26 decision was still a formality, but he refused to accede to the demonstrators' demand that the Official Languages Act of 1963 be amended to provide specific assurances to the peoples of the South that Nehru's plan for gradual change would be followed. This was the signal for a violent anti-Hindi upsurge in the four southern states of Madras, Kerala, Andhra, and Mysore, which have a total population of 100 million.

Much of the rioting took place in Madras, a hotbed of linguistic separatism. More than seventy persons were killed when police and soldiers fired on crowds; two police officials were lynched; nine thousand citizens, including 1,500 students, were arrested; and public property valued at $3 million was destroyed by rampaging mobs. Schools remained closed for forty-five days, and in many colleges principals and professors openly incited their pupils to join the anti-Hindi rebellion. In many towns, copies of the Indian constitution were burned along with effigies of the "Hindi demon." The disturbances soon spread to West Bengal State in eastern India, where crowds forced movie houses to cancel Hindi films.

Only when two of his Tamil ministers threatened to resign did Shastri realize the extent of the uprising. He quickly retreated and announced that Nehru's assurance would be given legal form. The result was that the anti-Hindi agitation has been called off "temporarily," but both the Dravidian league and the Students' Anti-Hindi Agitation Council have made it clear that the "struggle" will be resumed if the proposed legal steps fail to satisfy them.

MEANWHILE, the prime minister is faced with growing dissatisfaction among northerners in his party. More than a hundred members of parliament signed a memorandum to Shastri protesting any move to amend the Official Languages Act. Many Congress Party members have openly joined opposition groups in clamoring for a firm policy designed to hasten the pace of Hindiization. At a Hindi convention held in Allahabad, one speaker declared that

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"more than a hundred thousand men and women are ready to fill the jails in the sacred cause of Hindi." One militant Socialist leader even advocated destroying any communications in English from New Delhi to the Hindi-speaking states.

The four Hindi states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar are vigorously switching to Hindi in their provincial administrations. The municipality of Lucknow, capital of Uttar Pradesh, has threatened to fire employees who do not acquire a working knowledge of Hindi within six months. The northern states are apparently determined to show Shastri that they do not lack the will or the means to accord Hindi its exalted status.

Hindi-speaking politicians argue that no self-respecting nation can afford to rely on a foreign language. They point out that only two per cent of Indians know English and that so long as that "language of the élite" holds a pre-eminent position, the federal administration cannot create a firm foundation in the country at large. The southerners retort that while at least two per cent of *all* Indians know English, only a few hundred people living in the four great southern states know Hindi. They also cite the latest census figures, which show that Hindi is spoken by less than a third of the 450 million Indians, to underline their assertion that a minority language is being forced on the majority.

Shastri's Tightrope

While the Hindi states are changing to Hindi with aggressive speed, the Tamil, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Malayalam, Kannada, Marathi, and Telugu states are also becoming fanatically monolingual. In some states there is a move to make the regional language the medium of higher education, and if the trend persists, the time may not be distant when millions of Indians will be able to "converse" only in sign language.

The language explosion has led to deep splits not only in the Congress Party but also among all of India's leading political groups. The conservative Swatantra (Freedom) Party has allowed its state branches to devise their own policies on the official-language question according to regional needs. Thus, Swatantra leaders in the northern states have come out in support of Hindi, while their counterparts in the South oppose it. The right-wing Jana Sangh, a Hindu extremist party that looks upon Hindi as a revivalist weapon, has lost much ground in the South while adding to its strength in the North. Many Communist leaders in Madras and Kerala are championing the use of English for an indefinite period, much to the chagrin of their colleagues in the North, who feel that opposition to Hindi and support for English will rob the party of a popular issue among the Hindi-speaking masses.

If the unity of the country is to be preserved, there seems no way out of the linguistic dilemma except to keep English as the language of the federal administration until Hindi has become more acceptable to non-Hindi nationalities. A sensible policy would be to persuade Indians to learn more than one indigenous language, including Hindi where it is not spoken, while retaining English as the main federal medium. Unfortunately, the recent riots have hardened attitudes to such an extent that the southern and eastern states may not take kindly to Hindi even in the distant future.

Shastri's position is unenviable. He has been severely criticized by those who feel that he is anxious to carry the South with him but is unwilling to displease the Hindi zealots. But Shastri's critics overlook the fact that, unlike Nehru, he is essentially a regional leader who has still to graduate to national status. His political base is confined to Uttar Pradesh, the home of Hindi. Any hardening of the impression that he is betraying the Hindi cause could cost him more than the prime ministership; he might not even get reelected in his constituency in the 1967 general elections.

The danger is that the exigencies of political survival may persuade Shastri to court the goodwill of Hindi-speaking politicians at the cost of alienating southern and eastern opinion. He is under great pressure to recast his political image as a man who is determined to achieve national integration through firmness rather than through reconciliation. Hence, Shastri's future depends on how well he assuages the fears of the southern and eastern states and how ably he deals with the Hindi enthusiasts around him. So far, he has not shown any outstanding capacity for dealing with these two challenges.

THE SITUATION, of course, is not without hope. Among the younger generation of Indians there is a growing revulsion against linguistic politics. Educated men and women are disturbed by the thought that if the language quarrel is not resolved in a spirit of compromise, it could lead to the Balkanization of India. No matter what happens to Shastri—and after Nehru, prime ministers seem highly expendable—they feel that the real focus of national attention should be diverted to the pressing problems of unemployment and rising prices.

This enlightened segment is currently no more than a small minority. But its influence is being increasingly felt in the universities, the civil services, the trade unions, and the urban and rural middle classes. There is hope that those who believe in moderation and modernity will not be swept away by the forces of extremism and obscurantism. Shastri could still emerge as a purposeful national liberal leader. His one great advantage is that post-Nehru India seems absolutely bereft of any kind of leadership. And the people might respond eagerly to a dedicated leader, even if he has nothing more to offer than dedicated mediocrity.

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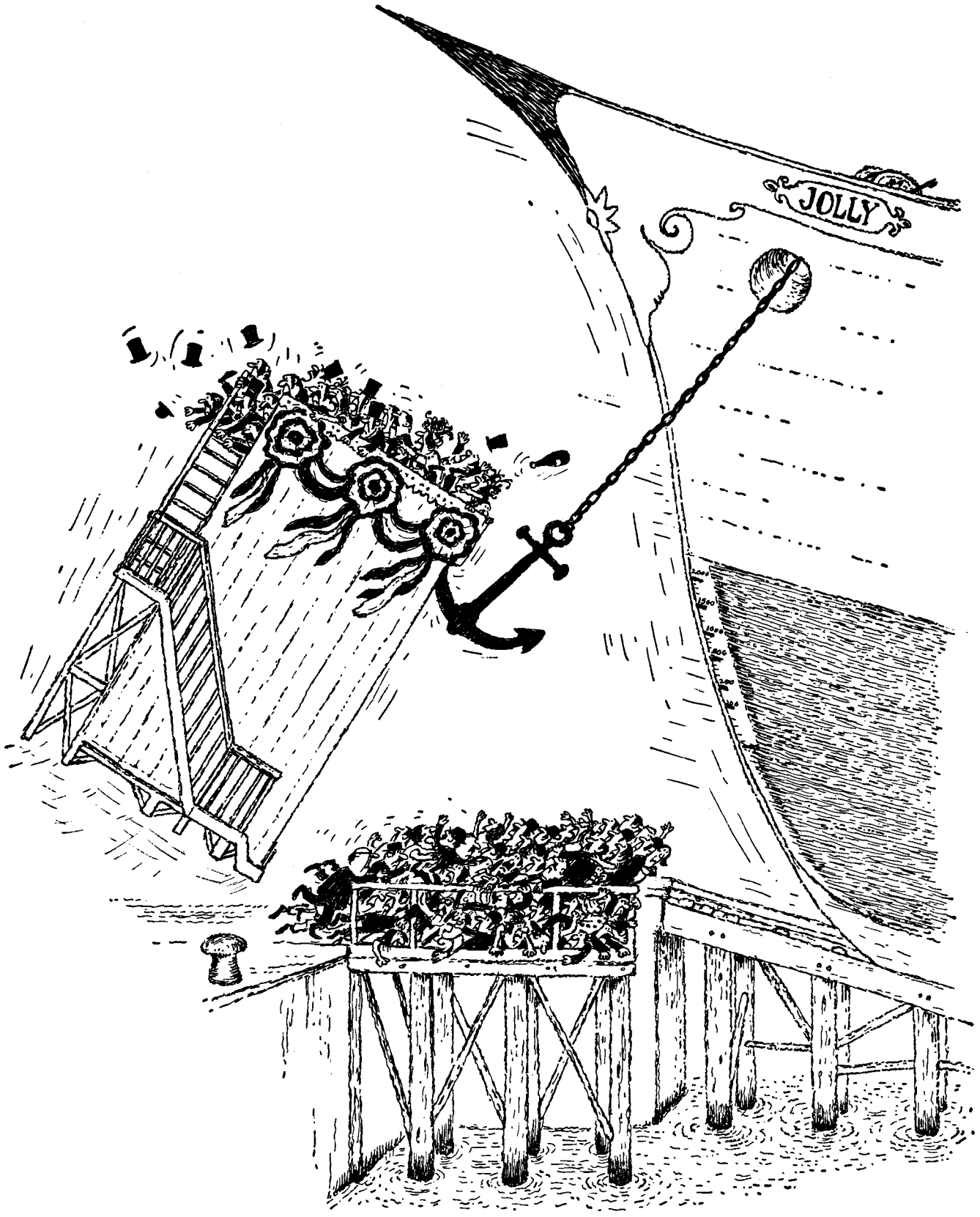

The Launching by Fernando Krahn

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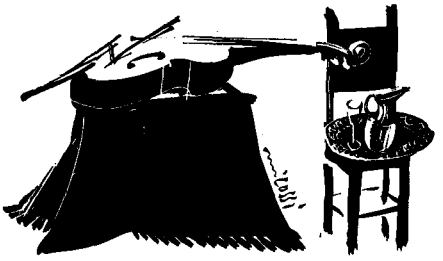

Unraveling Ravel: The Great Leap Sideways

FREDERIC V. GRUNFELD

REMEMBERING music in Paris at the turn of the century, Colette says in one of her essays that Maurice Ravel used to fascinate her with "the slight malaise of surprise, the sensual and malicious attraction of a new art." Now that this art is no longer new, there is a tendency to snub Ravel for sounding like the Hollywood composers who filched his style and turned his mannerisms into clichés. Listening to a work like *Daphnis et Chloé*, one has the uncomfortable sensation of being at the movies with the lights turned off: there are "prairie-dawn" crescendos, "bubbling-stream" arpeggios, "lurking-Indian" tom-toms, "wind-over-frozen-plains" episodes, and, soaring above the orchestra, the wordless *Spellbound* choruses. But these are ex post facto associations, and they belong to a world he never made. When the Diaghilev Ballet first produced *Daphnis* in 1912, it was still full of fresh ideas, not yet debased by a bushel of celluloid counterfeits.

What makes Ravel so distractingly cinematic as a composer is his redoubtable talent for mimicry and onomatopoeia, for finding the right musical analogy to a visual experience. Some of his best work belongs to the "Magic Realist" school of tone painting: a shop full of ticking clocks in *L'Heure Espagnole*, for instance, or a duet of mewing cats in *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*. While traveling through Europe he liked to collect aural landscapes just as a painter might go looking for interesting scenery; two of his earliest pieces, in fact, are entitled *Sites auriculaires*. He was probably the first composer to admire the "bizarre and magnificent" atmosphere of the modern factory, with its resounding percussion and complex choreography of motions. Describing a Rhine journey he took in 1905, he says that he wanted to cry for joy during a visit to an iron foundry. "How can I tell you about these great smelting castles, these incandescent cathedrals and the wonderful symphony of moving belts, whistles, and terrific hammer-blows in which you become submerged . . . How much music there is in all this! And I certainly intend to use it." In Holland he warmed to the sight of endless windmills stretching to the horizon. "On every side one sees nothing but turning whips," he writes. "One ends up feeling like an automaton oneself, facing this mechanical landscape. . . . I store things up, and I think a pile of things will come out of this trip."

RAVEL'S favorite landscapes are usually in Spain—the armchair geographer's Spain of the *Rapsodie Espagnole* and the *Alborado del gracioso* ("The Jester's Morning Serenade"). His castles in Castile are built on a whole set of interlocking illusions, beginning with the circumstance that his mother was Basque and had spent part of her youth in Madrid. But he himself never studied Spanish (as he always planned to do, in order to read *Don Quixote* in the original and make an opera of it), nor did he learn enough folklore to distinguish the dances of Aragon from those of Andalusia. The famous *Boléro* bears no resemblance whatever to any of the certifiably genuine boleros that were then being played south of the Pyrenees. Yet it seems to have rung true: today *Boléro* is whistled all over Spain as though it were a home-grown product and there had never been any other. And Manuel de Falla speaks of Ravel's "subtle and legitimate *españolismo*"—which is high praise, coming from the most fastidious of modern Spanish composers.

Falla, who was his close friend in Paris before the First World War, remembered that Ravel inherited the idea of Spain from his mother, "a lady who used to delight me with her exquisite conversations, in fluent Spanish, about the youthful years she had spent in Madrid. . . . Then I could understand with what fascination her son must have heard the frequent retelling of these nostalgic reminiscences, and the songs and dances that belonged to them." Madame Ravel actually came from a French-Basque family. She had met her husband, the French-Swiss engineer Joseph Ravel, while he was designing railroads for the Spanish government. After their marriage they lived for a time in Ciboure, a French port adjacent to Saint-Jean-de-Luz and less than a dozen miles from the Spanish border; that was where Maurice was born, on March

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7, 1875. But three months later the family moved to the center of Paris —the Rue des Martyrs, in one of Toulouse-Lautrec's favorite districts near the Place Pigalle. Joseph Ravel became a successful inventor as well an an engineer; he built an experimental automobile and designed a sensational stunt car that turned somersaults at the Casino de Paris. He was also musical enough to recognize his son's exceptional talent. "My father was far more knowledgeable in this art than the majority of amateurs," Ravel remembered gratefully. "He knew just how to develop my tastes and stimulate my interests at an early age."

At seven he began taking lessons with the salon composer Henri Ghys, and at fourteen he entered the Paris Conservatoire, where professors like Gabriel Fauré and André Gédalge found him a brilliant student, though unwilling to do any work. According to Ricardo Viñes, the Spanish pianist who was one of his best friends both at school and afterwards, there was a time when Madame Ravel had to pay her son six sous an hour for practicing the piano—about the same wage as a cleaning woman. Viñes describes Ravel as a stiff and circumspect adolescent with long hair and the air of a page boy, "sparing with his gestures, serious and sober, spirit drawn toward everything that was precious, rare, paradoxical and refined. . . . He posed as the aesthete, wanted to be misunderstood, and would doubtless have considered the vast popularity that later befell him as the worst insult to his refinement."

In some of his earliest works, such as the *Pavane pour une Infante défunte* ("Pavane for a Dead Princess"), there are echoes of Chabrier and Fauré, occasionally also of Satie. But it was obviously Debussy whom he most admired, and whose influence he found hardest to escape. Exposed as they were to many of the same currents in literature and art —Debussy, being thirteen years older, preferred the pre-Raphaelites to the post-Impressionists—they could hardly avoid dogging each other's footsteps in matters of theme and atmosphere. Debussy writes a *Children's Corner* suite, Ravel a *Mother Goose*. Debussy composes *Ibéria*, Ravel the *Rapsodie Espagnole*. Debussy has *Le jet d'eau*, Ravel the *Jeux d'eau*. Ravel's *Miroirs* and the first series of Debussy's *Images*, both published in 1905, are often mirror images. Where one has a *Menuet antique* and *Deux épigrammes*, the other has *Six épigraphes antiques*. Both compose some of their finest songs to poems of Verlaine and Mallarmé. Debussy discovers the idea for his *Pagodes* at the Javanese exhibit of the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition; Ravel uses the same source for his portrait of the *Impératrice des pagodes*. Each writes only a single string quartet, and these first cousins are now almost invariably coupled on LP records. Chronologically it is not always Ravel who follows Debussy in this leapfrogging of ideas: the *Ondine* of Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit* for piano is dated 1908, five years before the *Ondine* of Debussy's second book of Preludes.

But despite all this they were temperamentally at opposite poles. Viñes sums up their metabolic differences by saying that the "magnificently ugly" Debussy resembled "some conspicuous condottiere or an honorable Calabrian bandit," while the slender, elegant Ravel reminded him of "a former jockey, profitably retired from the turf." Personal relations between the two composers were cordial, if not intimate, until their disciples began feuding. One of their mutual friends, the musicologist Louis Laloy, says in his memoirs that he did everything possible to avert a misunderstanding, "but too many stupid meddlers seemed to take pleasure in making it inevitable, by sacrificing Debussy's quartet on the altar of Ravel's, for example, or by raising absurd questions of priority between the *Habanera* and the second of the *Estampes* [Debussy's *Soirée dans Grenade*]. The two composers then stopped visiting each other, and as their respect for each other was reciprocal, I can vouch for the fact that both of them regretted the rupture."

Ravel sounds most like Debussy in the *Shéhérazade* song cycle of 1903 —three of Tristan Klingsor's "Persian" poems set to music while he was still under the spell of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. (In the third of these songs, *L'Indifférent*, he permits himself a wry, half-humorous commentary on his own homosexual perplexities.) But from that point on he moves steadily away from the confessional tone of Debussy and toward a more classical sense of discipline and detachment. What Falla called Ravel's "Heroic Age" begins with the five *Miroirs* for piano. "They mark a change in my harmonic development so profound that the musicians who had understood me best until then were thoroughly disconcerted," Ravel noted. The most "*typique*" of these pieces, he adds, is the *Oiseaux tristes*, in which he tried to evoke "birds lost in the torpor of a sombre forest during the hottest hours of summer."

In the *Histoires naturelles* song cycle there are some birds of a similar feather, described with almost ornithological objectivity. He had found them—five poems about a peacock, cricket, swan, kingfisher, and guinea hen—nesting in the works of Jules Renard, and he was instantly fascinated by their under-

RAVEL ON RECORDS

The following is a selection of important issues available in mono and stereo.

Complete Orchestral Works. Cluytens, Paris Conservatory Orchestra, René Duclos Choir. Angel D3636, SD-3636.

Complete Works for Solo Piano. Walter Gieseking. Angel 3451-5S (3 records).

Bolero, Rapsodie Espagnole, La Valse. Leonard Bernstein, N.Y. Philharmonic. Columbia ML 5293, MS-6011.

Piano Concertos in D (Left Hand Alone) and G. François, Cluytens, Paris Conservatory Orchestra. Angel 35874, S-35874.

Sheherazade, Cinq Melodies Populaires Grecques, Deux Melodies Hebraiques, etc. Victoria de los Angeles. Angel 36105, S-36105.

Don Quichotte a Dulcinee, Chansons Madecasses, etc. Fischer-Dieskau. Deutsche Grammophon 18615, 138115.

L'Enfant et les Sortileges: Maazel. Deutsche Grammonphon 18675, 138675.

L'Heure Espagnole. Danco, Derenne, Ansermet. London 4102.

Quartet in F. Juilliard Quartet (with Debussy Quartet). RCA Victor LM 2413, LSC-2413.

Trio in A Minor. Menuhin, Cassado, Kentner (with Mozart Trio in E, K. 542). Angel 35630, S-35630.

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lying contradiction: "The language clear and direct, the poetry profound and obscure." The songs were designed to achieve the same chiaroscuro effect, but when Jane Bathori sang them for the first time at the Salle Erard in January, 1907, both audience and critics reacted violently against this "alien" and "artificial" new style. Nothing he could do thereafter could erase the popular notion that he was a depersonalized and artificial composer; it was the most convenient label by which to classify the man. For the rest of his career Ravel was invariably depicted as "the Swiss watchmaker" who could fabricate products of twenty-one-jewel precision but lacked "depths of feeling." One waggish reviewer suggested that he must have swallowed a musical snuffbox at the age of three; the *Times* of London reproached him, more formally, for doing "clever but very small things" with an "almost reptilian cold-bloodedness." There was a certain jaundiced satisfaction to be derived from all this. "Hasn't it ever occurred to these people," Ravel asked impatiently, "that I might be artificial by nature?"

WHEN Sergei Diaghilev came to Paris with the Ballet Russe in 1909, he commissioned Ravel to write a score for him based on the Greek legend of Daphnis and Chloë. It was one of Diaghilev's more inspired suggestions: Ravel was a superb ballet composer because he could translate every sort of natural action and gesture into its musical equivalent—from where it could then be reconverted into ballet choreography and pantomime. His musical thinking often begins with the image of some particularly expressive movement (a strutting peacock, a slinking cat), and in this instance his point of departure was a spectacular ballet coup that had caught his eye at an earlier Diaghilev production. "I remember," says his friend M. D. Calvocoressi, the music critic, "that the very first bars which Ravel wrote were inspired by the memory of a wonderful leap sideways which Nijinsky (who was to be Daphnis) used to perform in a *pas seul* in *Le Pavillon d'Armide,* a ballet produced by Diaghilev that very season; and that they were intended to provide the opportunity for similar leaps—the pattern characterized by a run and a long pause, which runs through Daphnis's dances. . . ."

In a curiously graphic way, this famous *volte-face* of Nijinsky's symbolizes Ravel's whole relationship to the rest of the musical world. At the time he was writing his best-known works, some of his contemporaries—Schönberg, Stravinsky, Bartók—were making the great leap forward into unrestricted dissonance and atonality. Others, like Puccini and Strauss, preferred to stay rooted to the spot where traditional harmonies prevailed. Ravel, after taking a running start as the *enfant terrible* of French music, executed a deft flanking maneuver that landed him off to one side, about midway

between the modernists and the conservatives. In the years following *Daphnis,* the avant-garde procession gradually passed him by. Though he could write "problem music" as difficult as the next man's, he never ventured beyond the limits of tonal harmony or into deeper waters of theoretical speculation. "Music does not need philosophy," he told the Viennese critic Paul Stefan.

The outbreak of the World War interrupted his work on another ballet. Though turned down by the flying corps, he managed to enlist as a *conducteur* in the transportation corps. In March, 1916, just after his forty-first birthday, he was sent to the Verdun front. His letters speak of the war as a bitterly surrealist and "hallucinatory" experience. Between grueling tours of duty as a truck driver, "I have amused myself by noting down the songs of the birds in the Bourrus Forest. It's no use; I'll never be the Napoleonic type."

Hospitalized with dysentery, he returned to Paris just in time to be present at the death of his mother. She had been one of the central figures of his life, and for months afterwards "I was convinced I should never be able to work again." Yet the first work completed after his discharge from the army in 1917 is perhaps his most urbane and elegant masterpiece—*Le Tombeau de Couperin,* designed as "a tribute not so much to Couperin himself as to eighteenth-century French music in general." It has six movements based on classical forms like the minuet and toccata, each dedicated to the memory of a friend killed in action.

LONG AFTER the war he was still suffering from moral and physical exhaustion. "Sometimes I think about entering some admirable monastery in Spain," he wrote in the spring of 1920, "but without faith that would be completely idiotic. Besides, even there I would only be composing Viennese waltzes and foxtrots." His first major postwar project was, in fact, a "choreographic poem" in the form of a superwaltz, intended for the Diaghilev Ballet and originally called *Wien*—"a kind of apotheosis of the Viennese waltz, linked, in my mind, with the impression of a fantastic whirl of destiny." Retitled *La Valse,* it became a favorite showpiece for virtuoso conductors but was rejected by Diaghilev, who thought it lacked rhythmic variety and "scenic action." Ravel was bitterly resentful; he never spoke to Diaghilev again, and they nearly ended up fighting a duel. A few years later, when he was asked to write a ballet for Ida Rubinstein's troupe, he pounded home a still more insistent rhythm to prove his point about the dance possibilities of a single, reiterated beat. By his own admission, *Bolero* is a sheer tour de force, "a piece lasting seventeen minutes and consisting wholly of 'orchestral tissue without music.' " It is also the last great Lisztian crescendo in the history of music. Whether it represents Ravel at anything like his best is another question. "There is a definite limit to the length of time a composer can go on writing in the same dance rhythm," observes the British composer Constant Lambert. "This limit is obviously reached by Ravel

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toward the end of *La Valse* and toward the beginning of *Boléro.*"

In 1921 he bought himself a quiet country house with a large garden at Montfort l'Amaury, about thirty miles from Paris. It was gradually filled up with a vast, compulsive collection of antique furniture and bric-a-brac—ship models under glass, costume puppets, clocks, embroideries, porcelain figurines, ormolu inkwells, mechanical birds. Some of these same bibelots come to life in the opera *L'Enfant et les sortilèges,* which had its premiere in Monte Carlo in 1925 shortly after his fiftieth birthday. Colette had written a libretto for him that was ideally suited to his anthropomorphic view of the world: a bad little boy learns a lesson in good conduct from an assortment of talking animals and household furnishings, including a Louis XV chair (soprano), a Chinese cup (contralto), a Wedgwood teapot (tenor), and a grandfather clock (baritone).

During the duet between the cup and the teapot, a slide trombone insinuates the first jazz note to be heard in a Ravel score. This newly acquired taste for "syncopated American music of genuine Negro origin" (as one of his friends defined it) was pursued further in the dance halls of Paris and on a four-month American concert tour in 1928 that took him to New York, Chicago, the West Coast, New Orleans, and even *"le jazz d'Omaha qui est célèbre."* There are jazz ingredients in both of the piano concertos completed at Montfort in 1931. The first, the *Concerto in G,* he says, "includes some elements borrowed from jazz, but only in moderation" because the old concert forms are preserved "in the spirit of Mozart and Saint-Saëns." The second is a *Concerto for the Left Hand Alone* composed for the Austrian pianist Paul Wittgenstein, who had lost an arm in the war. It has only one movement but "many jazz effects, and the writing is not so simple."

Like Stravinsky, who had written his first *Ragtime* as early as 1918, Ravel sensed that jazz offered a new way out of the rhythmic quandaries of modern European music. The two concertos contain intimations of some further synthesis yet to come, but there was time to finish only one more work—the three *Don Quichotte* songs—before the onset of the tragic disease that ended his career. Its first symptoms appeared at Saint-Jean-de-Luz in 1933, when he discovered while swimming that he could no longer perform certain movements. Doctors diagnosed his illness as "aspraxia" or "dysphasia." It involved the progressive "unlearning" of writing skills and reflexes; within a few months he had to consult a dictionary for the very forms of the alphabet, which had slipped from his memory. In 1934 he wrote his last letter; a year later he could no longer sign his name.

According to his friend and biographer Roland Manuel, "his clear, exacting intelligence was not in any way affected" by these nervous disorders, but he could no longer work and complained of "living in a fog." Until his death on December 28, 1937, he was mercilessly condemned to witness the step-by-step destruction of his highest faculties. In July, 1937, recalls his friend Helen Jourdan-Morhange, "after a very beautiful performance of *Daphnis et Chloé* . . . he took me by the arm, led me away from the crowd and in the car broke into tears: 'I still have so much music in my head.' I tried to console him, assuring him his work was complete; he became angry. 'I have said nothing. I still have everything to say.' "

Virtue Rewarded

GERALD WEALES

JEAN GIRAUDOUX is one of those playwrights, like Brecht, Beckett, and Ionesco, whose success in the American theatre cannot be gauged in terms of the number and duration of New York productions. It is a sure bet that not a month passes without a Giraudoux production somewhere in the country. Although he has found his way into regional and campus theatres, Giraudoux is not really safely avant-garde and, hence, "serious." Twenty-one years after his death, he is in the position that Bernard Shaw occupied not so long ago—performed and enjoyed, but distrusted by the kind of intellectual theatregoer (or non-goer) who suspects the dramatist of only playing with ideas. There are probably three reasons for this suspicion: the conditions under which his plays were first offered to American audiences, his translators, and the attitude toward life that informs all his work.

ALTHOUGH Giraudoux' success on Broadway has been minimal, most of his plays have come into this country as Broadway productions. *Amphitryon 38* turned up as an S. N. Behrman play in 1937; after the war, several Maurice Valency adaptations—*The Madwoman of Chaillot, The Enchanted,* and *Ondine* (this one as an Audrey Hepburn vehicle)—were produced. Later some of the Christopher Fry translations—*Tiger at the Gates, Duel of Angels*—arrived. Behrman and Fry, somewhat unjustly, are often dismissed as shallow stylists in their own work, and Valency, somewhat justly, is generally recognized as an

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adapter who tempers the playwright to the market.

Preconceptions about Broadway production or about Behrman, Fry, and Valency, however, should damn Giraudoux in the eyes of only the most obvious kind of intellectual snob. Giraudoux' more serious detractors are reacting to the plays themselves and not to the accidents of production. In all of his work—and this is clear in the translations—Giraudoux reveals that he distrusts abstraction as something that smothers life. This can be seen horrifyingly in a play like *Electra,* in which the heroine's abstract justice destroys the city, or gently in a play like *The Enchanted,* in which the heroine, having fallen in love with the idea of death, has to be brought back to life by the invocation of small things—multiplication tables, recipes, black lace petticoats—that make up day-to-day living. Explicit in many of the plays and implicit even in the plays that end disastrously—in *Judith,* for instance, or in *Tiger at the Gates*—is a celebration of man. Hemmed in by ideas, bound by society, imprisoned by the constructs of his own mind, man continually breaks through the wall of abstraction and by taste, touch, smell, sight, and sound finds himself alive and finds life good.

Among contemporary playwrights, only Beckett is so conscious of the way a man's life is built of tiny gestures, small comforts, a preoccupation with moments; but where Beckett sees these things as a way of killing time in a meaningless universe, Giraudoux sees them as a way of filling time and giving it meaning. Since negation is intellectually fashionable today, it is hardly surprising that a playwright who is an affirmer, even in his darkest plays, should be condescended to as a man with a shallow point of view. But it is precisely this point of view that gives Giraudoux his strength and depth, that marries substance to his style and wit. For this reason, it is good to have so much Giraudoux available in so many places. For this reason, it is good that *Judith,* more than thirty years after its first French production, has finally come to New York.

No one would claim that *Judith* is Giraudoux' best play, but it is a fascinating one, and the APA production at the Phoenix Theatre, despite its faults, is a worthy introduction to it. When John K. Savacool published his first translation of the play in 1955 (the present one is much closer to the original), he described it as "a fable of sex and God." It would be hard to imagine a retelling of the Judith-Holofernes story that was not such a fable, and in Giraudoux' play sex and God are the ostensible motives for most of the action and the chief subjects up for discussion. Giraudoux' Judith, however, is not the knowledgeable widow of the Apocrypha; she is an adolescent who keeps inventing herself, constructing idealized self-images out of abstract ideas about

love and sacrifice. The play is built neatly so that Judith begins each act with one idea of what she is and ends it with another; somehow in the transfer of roles she misses the chance really to become a person. It is unfortunate that this production chose to do the play in two parts, making an artificial break in the middle of what should be the second act, for such spacing distracts from the pattern of action.

When we first meet Judith, she is a spoiled little rich girl, consciously charming in a condescending way, dead certain that she is marked for grandeur. With every gesture, every line, she says what the heroine of *The Fantasticks* sings: "I am special. I am special. Please, God, please, don't let me be normal." At this point, even though the people in the street are shouting her name, demanding that she fulfill the prophecy and save the besieged city, her imaginings are more conventional. We learn from the soldier John that she is a teaser who necks with all the young officers, coldly calling a halt the safe side of satisfaction while she trains for the one man, the one love worthy of Judith. Her playing at being a woman is shown cleverly in the scene with a hungry child where she teases him with a kiss as she teases him with food that he will not be allowed to eat. As for those cries in the street, she can accept them as rounds of applause, but she has no intention of sacrificing herself to the demands made on her. When she discovers that the situation really is hopeless, that the city is lost, she makes her first switch. Under such circumstances, the role of savior has a certain class: "Yes, God still has Judith." She decides that she has been saving her virginity for an occasion, not for a man.

In the second act, in the camp of Holofernes, she plays her big scene, but to the wrong audience. Egon, one of Holofernes's captains, pretends to be the general and her heroic moment becomes farce. Since she cannot see that Egon is a false Holofernes and, as a homosexual, a false man, she is humiliated both as a heroine and as a woman. The humiliation, however, is only an occasion for changing roles. Having decided that God intends not to exalt her but to humble her, she goes at last to the real Holofernes's bed insisting that he is the instrument of her degradation.

The seduction scene is one of the best in the play. She approaches him willingly, even eagerly, but, being Judith, still protesting that something else is happening. In a standard maturation comedy, Judith's night with Holofernes would have taught her that she was a woman, but *Judith,* according to Giraudoux, is a tragedy, and the source of the story demands that Holofernes die by her hand. In the last act, we learn that she has killed him—but out of love, she keeps insisting. How like Judith, and how dangerous are these idealists. To preserve the perfection of her one night of love, to keep it from dwindling to habit or indifference, she stabs Holofernes. When her people descend on her, praising her name, she tries momentarily to hang onto her version

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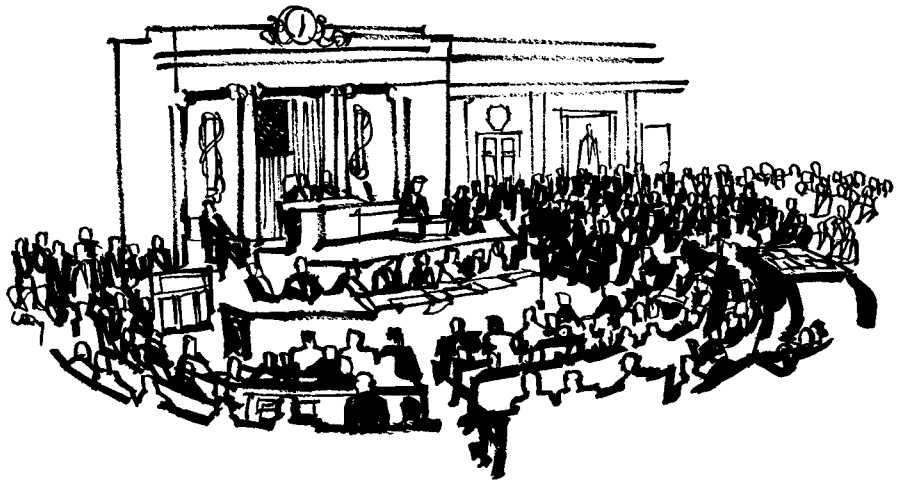
of the killing, but a vision changes her mind. Giraudoux is wonderfully ambiguous about the angel who talks to her, since no one sees or hears him but Judith and the audience, but it is just the kind of vision that Judith would invent for herself —one in which an angel loses his place in heaven to look after her. When the play ends, Judith has taken on her last role, the one that she will have to wear for the rest of her life. She is the savior who has killed out of hatred and, her virginity restored by official fiat, she will become a dispenser of doubtful justice to her people. Judith's tragedy is that she never takes Holofernes seriously when he tells her his tent is a refuge from God; she brings her abstractions in with her, and they kill him and keep her from escaping the larger-than-life (hence, non-life) mask that she assumes.

There is more to *Judith* than Judith herself. In the Grand Rabbi Joachim and his followers, there is a display of the way society creates and uses its myths. In Holofernes and, on a lesser scale, in Judith's Uncle Joseph, there is man's attempt to declare a neutral, a private ground that is holy, as Joseph says, only because "man has lived in it and made it human."

FOR THE MOST PART, the production at the Phoenix is designed to let Giraudoux come through clearly. There are some weaknesses in performance and in conception; Paul Sparer's Holofernes is a great deal too stagy in a role that cries out for understatement to offset Judith's self-dramatizing tendencies. Although the lines allow it, it was a mistake to play the relationship between Judith and Susanna so blatantly lesbian; the playwright was after subtler game, letting Susanna worship the ideal in Judith, but never the ideal that Judith is worshiping in herself. The limitations in the production, however, seem insignificant compared to its chief virtue—its Judith. Rosemary Harris occasionally takes her as seriously as Judith takes herself, but in the main she catches Judith's changeability, her ice-cold charm, her overt cruelty, the passion that she keeps trying to smother, and most of all her sense of always being the star of her own show.

BOOKS



Representing the House

NELSON W. POLSBY

HOME PLACE: THE STORY OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, by William S. White. *Houghton Mifflin. $4.*

HOUSE OUT OF ORDER, by Richard Bolling. *Dutton. $4.95.*

Fresh from his recent triumph as the election-year Parson Weems of his long-time friend Lyndon Johnson, William S. White now turns his magisterial attention to the House of Representatives. But, if we can believe his former colleague, Russell Baker of the New York *Times,* White's credentials for the task are somewhat tarnished. "The snobbishness of the Senate is not limited to its members but extends to hangerson," wrote Baker in *An American in Washington.* "Newsmen who cover the Senate may look down upon an occasional assignment in the House as beneath their stature. William S. White, the distinguished columnist and authority on the Senate, has boasted, only half-jokingly, that he has never set foot on the House's side of the Capitol." This is clearly not quite true: White admits to moments of cozy intimacy with fellow Texan Sam Rayburn, and occasionally gives vent to patronizing references to "this old House" of which he denominates himself "a close, and on the whole, a fond observer" for eighteen years. During this time, he says, he has had "intimate knowledge of the House as it is inside as well as . . . outside."

Nevertheless, White makes it plain that his affections remain with the Senate. Able members of the House, he suggests, ought to be "promoted" to the Senate, which is "the better legislative body by and large." However, his attempts to give meaning to judgments such as these—which are in their pristine state vacuous—founder. His case for the comparative unimportance of the House rests upon such items as:

¶ The argument that the House really has no influence upon matters of national security policy. Yet White admits that the power of the purse in defense matters is crucial and the powers of the relevant House Appropriations subcommittee (fortunately headed by a Texan, George Mahon) are most vital of all. He resolves this seeming contradiction with a stunning disclosure: ". . . defense is by the deepest possible definition a home affair; and the House is the home of home affairs."

¶ The strong implication that at national party conventions senators are more important than representatives. The memory of Speaker John Nance Garner's role in nominating Roosevelt in 1932 ought to have given

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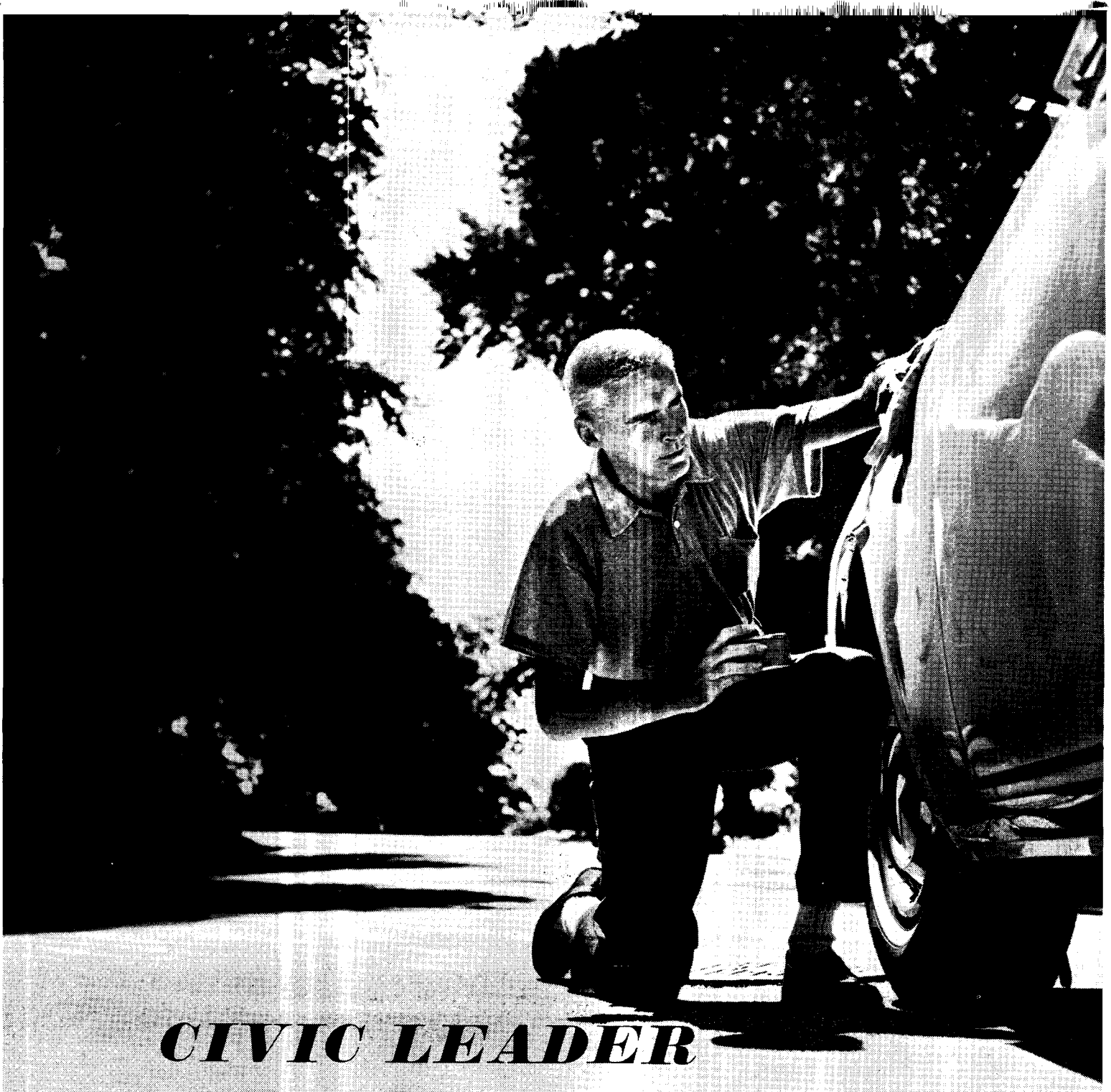

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White pause. More recently, in 1960, Representative Stewart Udall won the Democratic delegation of Arizona in behalf of John Kennedy away from Senator Carl Hayden, who was boosting Mr. Johnson. Presumably, examples can be multiplied on both sides of the argument, but even if White were correct, it would have no necessary bearing on the collective powers of the House.

¶ The assertion that while the Senate gives talented junior members room for maneuver, the House does not. In fact, junior members in both bodies are given important work to do only if they are very lucky and very resourceful. In another connection, White himself instances Richard Bolling in the House, who, though very junior, became influential with Speaker Rayburn's assistance. To prove how the Senate recognizes great ability instantly, White offers Mr. Johnson, who similarly enjoyed Rayburn's assistance (and that of President Roosevelt) earlier in his career, and later made his way in the Senate with the aid of senior senators, and not, as White blandly asserts, "simply by virtue of a high capacity for personal leadership."

White's preoccupation with the Senate is, in short, debilitating rather than illuminating, for the Senate is not used as a means of making operational comparisons so much as tenuous moral judgments. On the House—ostensibly the subject of the book—White is quite uninformed about even the most obvious details. His account of the normal operations of the House legislative process in one short chapter is both skimpy and ludicrously wide of the mark. Sprinkled throughout are oversimplifications, inaccuracies, and blunders on a variety of topics. On Congressional districts: "One rarely finds [one-party districts] in any essentially urban area of the country." On elementary points of history in the large: "The humility of the House, taking it as a whole, has been one of its outstanding characteristics nearly from the beginning, is so now, and no doubt ever will be" (War Hawks of 1812? Reconstruction?); and on history in the small: "Never in all history has a topmost House National reached the Presidency, save for James Madi-

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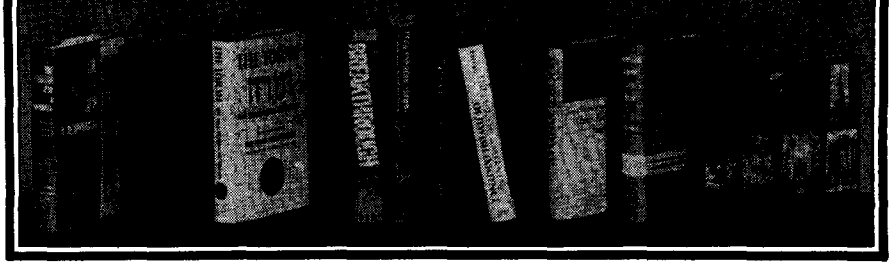

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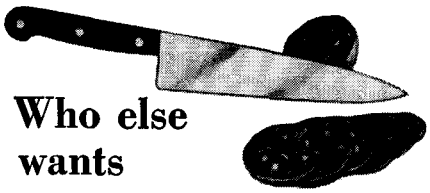

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son . . ." (Polk? McKinley? Garfield?). On procedure: the Education and Labor Committee is erroneously assigned the jurisdiction for medical-care legislation; the Republican Committee on Committees is incorrectly alleged to come crucially under the influence of Ways and Means.

ONE FINDS a persistent confusion between personal qualities of politicians and their political positions. The "Above Average," as White describes him, is sometimes the abler, more enlightened member, sometimes the more senior member. Sometimes it is impossible to tell which; but it is clear that, whoever he is, only he has the potential for a share in that small portion of greatness White allots to the House. The "Average" member gets White's pity, but for the oddball "Non-Average," he reserves a special scorn, as is only due the "young or youngish lawyer," the "academician diverted to elective politics," the "quasi-professional writer" who is "always a reformer and Liberal, with a capital L," who goes "by rattling subway to the meeting place of the American Veterans Committee or perhaps of Americans for Democratic Action."

It is indeed hard to see how any right-thinking American can fail to avert his eye from the repellent picture White paints of the advocate of reform. And so it is to the author's credit that although he finds certain proposals for reform sadly wanting in practicality, he does consider them briefly upon their merits before dismissing them.

In particular, White defends the system of seniority, which, he avers, is the very synonym of "experience, capacity, earned prestige, personal influence through personal power." The Rules Committee, he suggests, is essential for a number of reasons, the most curious of which follows: "I assert in complete confidence and without hesitation that [on the occasion of General MacArthur's farewell address to a joint meeting of Congress] had an influential member suddenly offered from the floor a resolution condemning . . . [the] President of the United States and calling on General MacArthur to lead this nation forward, it could have been a bad moment for constitutional government in the United States. It could have been, that is, but for the existence of something called a Rules Committee. . . ."

The fact is that the rules of the House and Senate reveal no method by which any business at all can be considered in a joint meeting of Congress. Joint resolutions, separately passed by each chamber, to take effect must have the President's signature—or be passed over his veto—an awkward procedure for a resolution designed to depose a President. The probability of any such act as White contemplates must be rated as very low. And all this regardless of the existence of the Rules Committee, by which he sets so much store.

That White should attempt a book on the House was inevitable, one supposes, after the spectacular success of his *Citadel: The Story of the U.S. Senate* in 1957. But he has not written a book about the House at all. Rather, this is a chronicle of his biases in favor of the Senate, Texans, and whatever political machinery happens to be on hand at the moment, and against liberals and reformers.

ON THE OTHER HAND, Representative Bolling gives ample evidence that he knows the House; that he loves it as he finds it is less obvious. As one of the most intelligent and articulate liberal reformers in the House, Bolling is perhaps overly

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 125

by HENRY ALLEN

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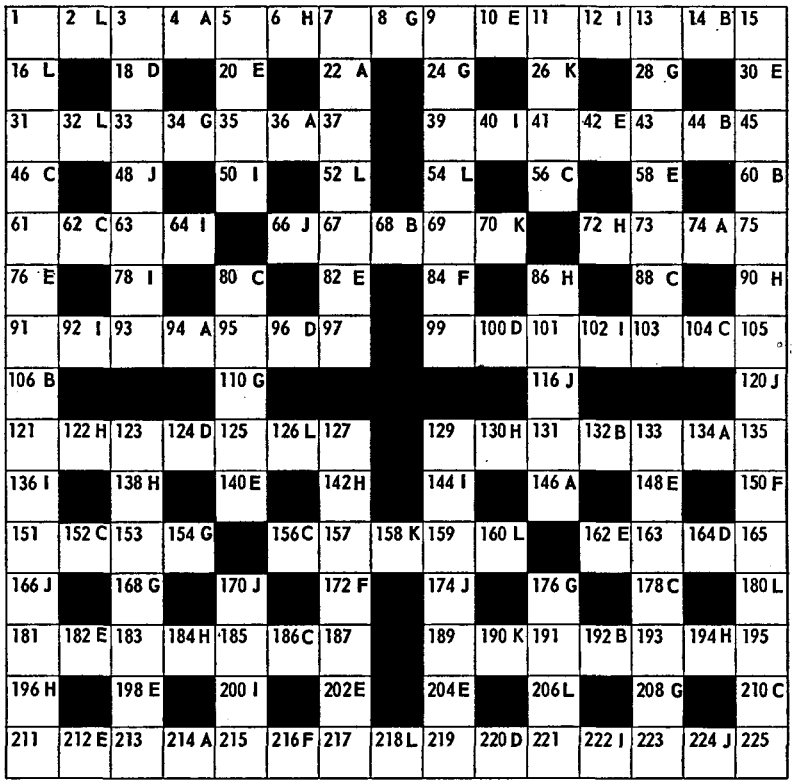
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A 22 74 94 146 4 134 36 214 A hyenalike quadruped of South Africa.

B 68 132 106 60 14 192 44 Former seaport in Italy.

C 178 46 88 210 62 152 156 186 80 104 56 A work of the Acrostician (3,8).

D 100 18 96 220 124 164 Old World bird with a curved bill.

E 162 204 42 30 198 212 76 82 58 20 148 140 10 202 182 A danger which is not identified (9,6).

F 216 172 150 84 Play based on Maugham's story "Miss Sadie Thompson."

G 34 24 208 8 168 176 110 28 154 How mud might be described (5,4).

H 138 72 90 130 184 142 196 86 6 194 122 Famous English physicist (5,6).

I 78 200 50 222 136 144 12 40 102 92 64 An enthusiast for a certain fruit drink (8,3).

J 224 66 166 174 48 116 120 170 "The _____ queen that caught the world's great hands." Leigh Hunt, "The Nile."

K 158 190 26 70 Bacchanalian cry.

L 206 2 54 180 218 126 32 16 52 160 A hunting party in the region of the capital of Italy (5,5).

ACROSS

1. Having no feet, nevertheless?
31. As (3,4), London processional route; as (4,3), everybody.
39. The cleric of Canterbury neared a penny (3,4).
61. Press in fir only.
66. Concur when eager.
72. Kind of shape for a confused Russian ruler.
91. Kind of ornament that is a bit more than a dragon.
99. Last two words in a work of the Acrostician; also a work of Camus (3,4).
121. If you sign, it may give you a sore end.
129. Kind of raw silk found in Shalimar—about the region, anyway.
151. Stuck for a hundred? This'll dig you.
156. Retch over this kind of rock.
162. Employs from all of us, essentially.
181. In the area, Chinese stick an arm inside (5,2).
189. With an exact weight, an eon encloses a vent (4,3).
211. Not the same ones. Odd Fellows, instead? (9,6).

DOWN

1. No profit unless this, proverbially (7,8).
3. Slight footing for the wrestler's maneuver (3,4).
5. Maim the Moslem leader.
7. Bring him along. He'll produce a salt-making radical.
9. Men in the wrong and torture.
11. The knot is done.
13. The ace may be tied to this beverage (4,3).
15. A big brother or a high-ranking one? (7, 8).
80. Note well our limit.
86. Strange and wider.
123. The lady's side is very loudly staid, strangely enough.
127. Augment Chann with ease.
129. Harm a gentleman on the rim (archaic).
133. Finest hint or pourboire (4,3).
170. The butter of Hugh e. Evans.
176. Grassland in the Rome region.

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VOICES OF MODERATION *(Civil Rights Div.): Bertrand Russell in a letter to the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life, April 6: "Nothing more clearly indicates the hand of oppression in America than the indictment of American radicals for having instigated [1964's Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant] riots." (Those indicted having been caught hurling bricks at police and giving neighborhood seminars in the construction and use of Molotov cocktails.)*

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concerned to offer a description of House operations sufficiently discouraging to sustain his indictment of the House as "ineffective in its role as a coordinate branch of the federal government, negative in its approach to national tasks, generally unresponsive to any but parochial economic interests. Its procedures, time-consuming and unwieldy, mask anonymous centers of irresponsible power. Its legislation is often a travesty of what the national welfare requires." But he really does not support these charges. To have done so would have required quite a different sort of book.

There is no real discussion of the substance of issues in *House Out of Order;* rather, it is a book about political strategy and tactics that at its best is frankly autobiographical. Bolling describes at length his activities in the fights surrounding the Landrum-Griffin bill, the civil-rights bills of 1956 and 1957, and the packing of the Rules Committee in 1961. These are highly personal accounts that quite properly emphasize Bolling's own perspective. They also reflect faithfully Bolling's characteristically cryptic style of exposition, which sometimes leaves out basic information. Even so, they are the best part of the book, and one wishes that Bolling had given us more of them.

The main thesis of the book is that the Speaker and the Majority Leader—the "Leadership"—are weak and the committee chairmen are strong, and that this is a bad thing, because the Leadership, as elected representatives of the majority party, is entitled to prevail in conflicts with men whose claim to high influence is based primarily upon luck and longevity. During most of Bolling's sixteen-year tenure as a representative, many Democratic chairmen have been more conservative than either their party leaders in the House or the majority of Democratic members. This leads Bolling to favor a type of Congressional reform that would vest greater committee-appointment power in the hands of the Speaker, subject to the ratifying vote of the caucus.

The probability is slight that this proposal will be enacted by any House Democratic caucus in the near future, but this is of less moment than the validity of Bolling's diagnosis. There is much merit to the general argument that in recent years the House has been a conservative force in American politics. But also over this time, a number of techniques have been worked out to cope with these facts of life—techniques that Bolling himself has been known to apply effectively. One of these has been the extensive use of the Democratic Study Group, an organization of between a hundred and two hundred liberal House members. Another technique for neutralizing conservative strength has been the manipulation of committee assignments so as to tip the balance

on key committees and give liberal legislation a better chance to reach the floor.

ALTHOUGH Bolling does not say so, over the last few years power in the House has been pushed by these and other means steadily toward the Democratic leaders of the House and away from the more conservative committee chieftains. Each of the three key committees—Rules, Ways and Means, and Appropriations—has since 1958 taken at least one major swing to the left. Customarily, episodes of liberalization take place at the opening of Congress, when simple majority rule within the caucus governs party decision-making.

In 1961, the Rules Committee was packed with what on most issues has proved to be a reasonably durable administration majority.

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Two years later, the caucus placed two liberals on the Ways and Means Committee over the opposition even of the Leadership, which, Bolling suggests, had made a bad bargain to support one conservative Southerner in return for Southern help with the 1963 resolution—which won by a large margin—permanently enlarging the Rules Committee. Over the last few Congresses, the membership of the Appropriations Committee has become steadily more liberal. In 1963, seats were given to members from New Jersey and Connecticut that previously had been held by members from Arkansas and North Carolina. Since the death last year of Clarence Cannon, the entire subcommittee structure of the committee has evolved in directions generally more favorable to Presidential budgets.

This year, with a net gain from the last election of perhaps forty new administration votes on the floor, the rules of the House were changed, giving the Speaker greater power to expedite floor consideration of measures he favors. Some House insiders assert that these most recent changes would not have been so easy to achieve had not Bolling's more drastic proposals also been widely circulated and in the minds of many Democrats. And so, in a small way, this book served as a political weapon whose main thrust could have been blunted by a more thoughtful or accurate interpretation of events like those it was designed, in part, to influence.

House Out of Order also serves as a kind of public announcement of a change in Bolling's role from agent of the late Speaker Rayburn to outspoken critic of the system of power as it is, at least in theory, presently constituted. Where Bolling was once, as Rayburn's man, unsympathetic to proposals of structural reform, he now hoists his own reform banner. This move is bound to cause some initial uneasiness among those of his colleagues who have been reform-minded all along; and it remains to be seen how Bolling will fit into the ranks of liberal Democrats now that his relationship with Rayburn, which afforded so much scope for his talents, can no longer define his role within the House.

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Running Interference

DAN PINCK

UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE, by Bel Kaufman. *Prentice-Hall. $4.95.*

It would be easy to say that Miss Kaufman's novel is representative of a brutish situation existing only for teachers (and students) in New York City and not in other major urban and suburban areas of the larger cities across the United States, but because it is so easy to come to this conclusion, I am reluctant to do so.

BY NOW, many know that this novel, whose jacket describes it as a "sharp, wryly humorous" book about the impossibility of teaching in a large metropolitan high school, indicts the schools in New York City, especially those in the poorer neighborhoods. But to everyone teaching in every city and town, the persons and events are distressingly familiar. Notes from principals to teachers on "Traffic Conditions on the Stairs"; notes from administrative assistants to teachers ("SINCE WE HAVE A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF DROPOUTS, PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE YOUR STUDENTS TO REMAIN IN SCHOOL BY POINTING OUT THE VALUES OF EDUCATION"); special glossaries, such as "low-normal," "average-normal," and "special-slows"; ambitious typing teachers promoted to guidance counselors, lateness coordinators, program integrators, and vocational counselors, not concerned with students but rather with "pupil loads"; notes from librarians to teachers ("I am forced to cancel the library lesson you had planned for your 3rd term students in connection with their study of mythology. Sending them here six at a time creates havoc and disorder. They have already misplaced *The Golden Age of Greece* and have put Bulfinch on the Zoology shelf, besides talking. Two of your students took our books indiscriminately, that had nothing to do with the assignment. I cannot allow them the facilities of the school library until they learn the proper respect for the printed page"); English teachers receiving notes from department heads ("Here is a copy of the English syllabus; let it be your Bible. It discusses various ways to provide enrichment, etc."); memos from supervisors: ("Windows should be open about four inches *from the top*, to avoid danger of students leaning out," or "Don't allow the lesson to end on the wrong note. Example: your question 'What kind of man was Frost?' elicited the answer: 'The kind of man who likes to write poetry.' Just then the bell rang and they were dismissed"); teachers being advised to change Emily Dickinson's "There is no frigate like a book" to "There is no *steamboat* like a book"; teachers receiving requests ("Please admit bearer to class—Detained by me for going Up the Down staircase and subsequent insolence"); teachers being forced to teach without books under department heads who aren't allowed to teach at all and principals who can't. None of these experiences hurtled at the novel's heroine (and I mean saint) is confined to the New York City schools. They must be duplicated daily in hundreds of schools throughout the nation in which skillful and dedicated teachers are helping and encouraging students as best they can while the principals are setting new horizons, broader vistas, and assorted aims and goals, few of which have anything to do with education.

Through the smog, it is nevertheless clear that the structure of American education is being repaired by the promising new curricula of the past ten years which demand a new approach to both teaching and learning and indeed even to administering. For this reviewer recently returned from England, a general observation might be in order: principals in the United States should be expected to teach as well as to administer. Principals in the publicly maintained schools in England are all expected to teach between seven and nine hours weekly; some teach as many as twenty. If the same requirement existed in the United States, few principals would catch students, teachers, or themselves going up the down staircase.

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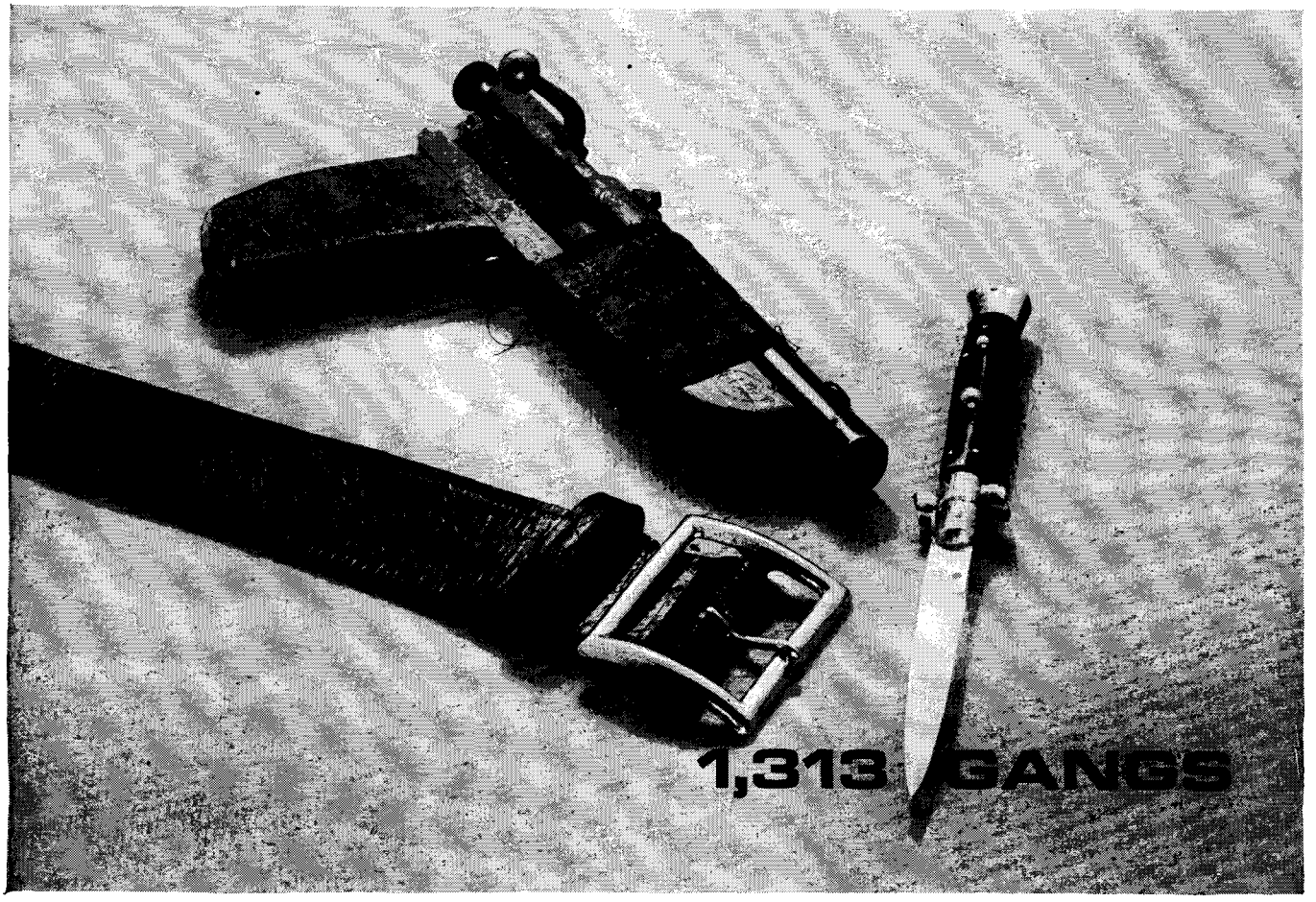
GREAT MOMENTS AT CHICAGO



Frederick M. Thrasher died a year ago with no descendants. But the solitary scholar who left the masterpiece, THE GANG, had, in another sense, thousands of descendants. His work charted a new direction for sociology, focusing the study of man in society into a study of man in cities—in the great metropolises which have come to dominate, shape and menace our culture.

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It Takes All Kinds

ELIZABETH STILLE

BELL CALL, by Sylvia Ashton-Warner. *Simon and Schuster. $5.*

The heroine of *Bell Call* is Tarl. Right away you are put off by the romantic concoctedness of the name. It reminds of Scarlett, Rip, Rock—what mother would think of it? Mother, in this case, is Sylvia Ashton-Warner, who has proved her gifts as a novelist and her insights on behalf of children and adults in her first novel and finest book, *Spinster*. Like Anna Vorontosov, the central figure of that book, she spent many years teaching small children in rural New Zealand. And, through an extraordinary capacity for understanding, she was evidently able to give each child in a large hodge-podge—some semi-civilized Maori, some prissy lower-middle class, some poor white trash—many of the benefits of having an imaginative, intelligent, and passionate mother.

Later came *Teacher*, an attempt to construct a system out of what she had learned in those years. The touching improvisations of Anna Vorontosov were now competing with Maria Montessori, Tolstoy, and Rousseau. The wayward yet stubborn seeking of *Spinster* to drum some learning into the little Maoris had become a universal method, and hence less original than Miss Ashton-Warner perhaps realized. Between these two books, she wrote a novel, *Incense to Idols,* of the sort known as sensitive, a love story with a heroine "utterly, terribly real in her almost innocent destructiveness," as Orville Prescott put it.

TARL is "utterly, terribly" phony. This wisp of a thing, with large black eyes, and hairy (stressed) but slim legs to which four small children are constantly clinging, has a will of iron, no sense of humor or proportion—in fact, no sense—a long-suffering husband, and a perpetual desire to "find a place that's just right for me . . . my Shangri-La." Never mind, her relationship with her children is "symbiotic"—which would be nice if she didn't keep pointing it out. Tarl paints as well.

When she and her family camp out in an empty house, she reactivates their next-door neighbor, an urbane middle-aged writer named Daniel, who has been living a lonely, work-filled life since his wife died in childbirth many years before. Daniel is irritated, of course, that Tarl barges in at any hour in the same grubby outfit, accompanied by hungry and thirsty children and invariably pours out her complaints and asks a good-sized favor. She's whining and self-pitying, he sees that, and an awful cadger, too. But just the same there's something magnificent about her and about those kids, especially Bennie, his mother's favorite.

Bennie, at eight, refuses to go to school. This fits in with Tarl's search for Shangri-La. To avoid the school board and her earth-bound husband, Gavin Pracket, she's forever disappearing to the mountains or the sea where they can all be free in "the Everlasting Now," taking Gavin's car so that he can't get to his teaching job. (Once she starts borrowing money from Dan, however, they often disappear into the nearby city. Here Tarl shows charming inconsistency by buying some good-looking clothes and taking the children to the movies.)

She always comes back, of course, and in the end she tells Dan why: "You are my Shangri-La." He can't accept her—she's given him too much already, he says: Life—"armfuls and armfuls" of life. "I can't apologize for life," she answers—and goes heroically off to prison (the school board has hounded her to it), leaving her children quite happy with their father next door. She'll be back, though; you can be sure of it.

Why in the Everlasting Now did Sylvia Ashton-Warner choose to deliver herself of this irritating beatnik and call her Life, Motherhood, Woman? But then if you are sympathetic to her ". . . what does the weather know of logic or human morality? No more than a tree . . . an animal or a woman," you may not miss the real men, women, and, above all, children of *Spinster*.

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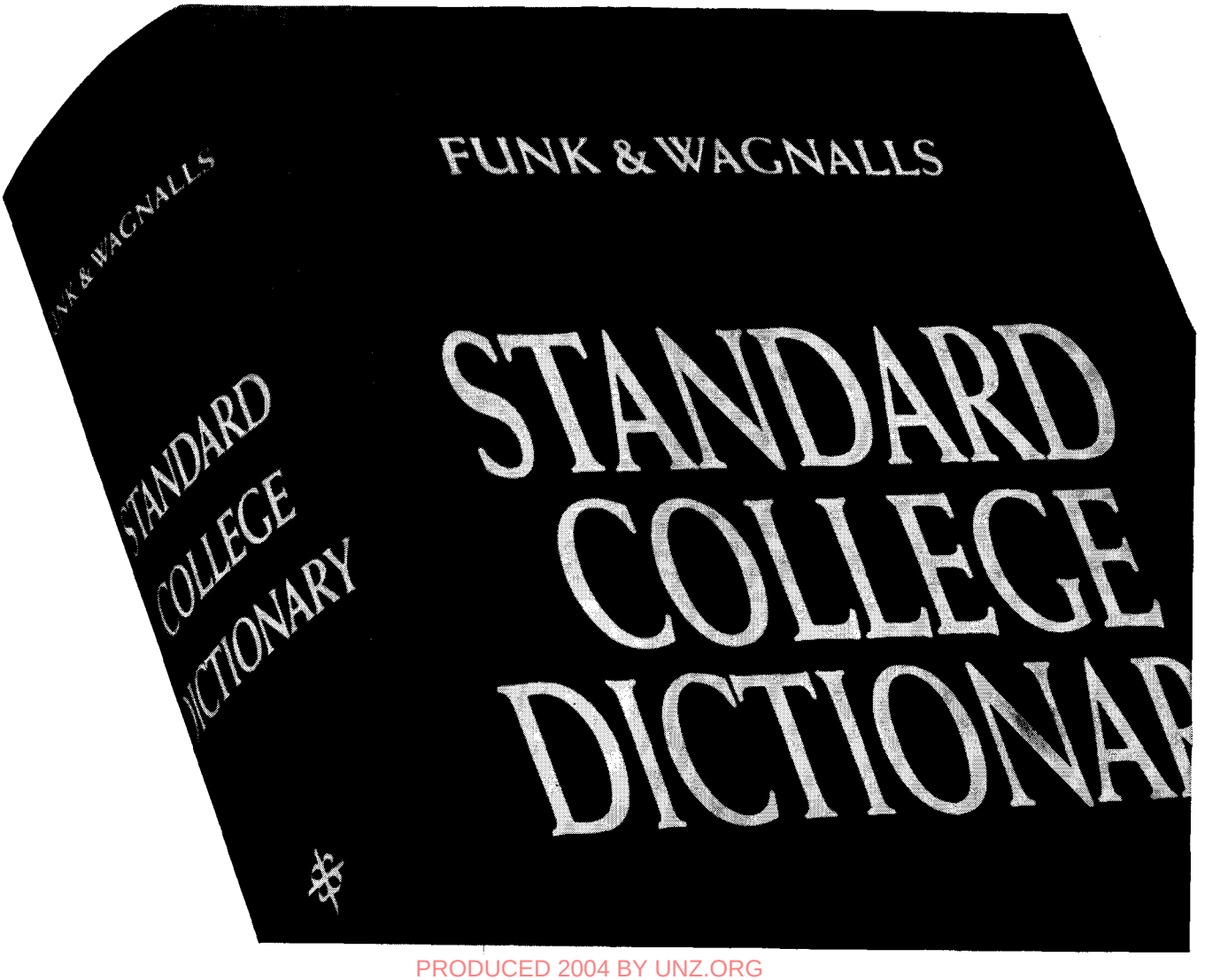

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